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ESSAY

ON

PVBLIC HAPPINESS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

AN

ESSAY

ON

PUBLIC HAPPINESS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

AN

ESSAY

ON

PVBLIC HAPPINESS,

INVESTIGATING

THE STATE OF HVMAN NATURE,

UNDER EACH OF

ITS PARTICULAR APPEARANCES,

THROUGH THE

SEVERAL PERIODS OF HISTORY,

TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

Adams 280.6
Vol. 1

Nil desperandum. HOR.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

AN eaſily diſcernible inferiority will enable the learned reader to diſtinguiſh the notes of the Tranſlator, from thoſe of his ingenious Author. For this reaſon, it might, perhaps, ſeem unneceſſary to affix any particular mark to the firſt; but as it may happen that by blending all the Notes indiſcriminately together, a leſs attentive obſerver might imagine that thoſe of the original Compoſer had been written by the Tranſlator, a K is placed at the concluſion of the additional notes. Where remarks may prove either falſe or frivolous, it muſt be a contemptible act of meanneſs which could endeavour to have them aſcribed to an author incapable of producing ſuch. To every reader, whoſe knowledge of hiſtorical and literary ſubjects is preſerved by a tenacious memory, this humble addition of remarks muſt prove abſolutely needleſs; but memory is not the perpetual attendant

dant upon learning, and the ſcholar, who enjoys an imagination too lively to retain a regular detail of facts, will forgive the intruſion of matters which he may, poſſibly, have forgotten. To the reader, who is leſs converſant in theſe ſubjects, it is preſumed that no apology can be neceſſary. Senſible of the great difficulty of infuſing into verſions the ſpirit of the originals, it is not eaſy to deſcribe the diffidence and apprehenſions with which the Tranſlator commits his labour to the preſs. Even now, whilſt he is writing, the vanity of a ſecond-hand author entirely forſakes him, and he trembles leſt he ſhould be taxed, not only with having ennervated the force of expreſſions, by running beyond the limits of a merely literal conſtruction, but thrown them into interpretations abſurdly diſtant from their real meaning. The nice diſcernment of every fault is ſolely peculiar to the few, who are capable of writing with elegance and perſpicuity. As their candour hath generally

generally riſen in proportion to their knowledge of the hardneſs of ſuch a taſk, he would willingly flatter himſelf that he might caſt this firſt attempt before them, after having premiſed, that if he had been much diſſatisfied with it in the cloſet, he ſhould never have permitted its appearance in public. If he hath done wrong, it is the reſult of ignorance alone. It is not in his nature to treat with diſreſpect, that claſs of readers, for whom this work is calculated.

DEDICATION.

To EDMOND JENINGS, Esquire.

Dear Sir,

AT one of our many agreeable interviews, you were pleaſed to propoſe to me, as a relaxation from ſeverer ſtudies, the amuſement of tranſlating the work of ſome favourite author. The ſatisfaction which I ſhall always feel in following your advice, is the only apology that can be made, for preſenting to you, in an Engliſh

Engliſh dreſs, a compoſition which you underſtand ſo perfectly in the French dreſs.

The peculiar diſpoſition which humbly avoids the praiſe, it conſtantly attempts to merit, ſhall ſecure you even againſt the violence of a modern dedication. I have been too intimate with you to be ignorant that panegyric is as painful to you, as the bitterneſs of invective to another. But yet you muſt not be ſo unconſcionable as to ſuppoſe, that becauſe your memory is too treacherous to remind you of the favours which you have conferred, they can poſſibly have eſcaped mine. Through the engaging commerce of an honeſt friendſhip, you have unmercifully incumbered me with an enormous debt. I have no method of confeſſing it, but this; and thus, inſtead of being payed, you muſt become a more capital creditor than ever. A larger ſum of gratitude is owing, in recompence for the privilege of ſubſcribing myſelf,

With inviolable eſteem,

Dear Sir,

Your ſincere, and affectionate friend,

THE TRANSLATOR.

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THE

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the lapſe of ſo many enlightened ages, in which the moſt ingenious and laborious reſearches of ſucceſſive writers appear, even in trifles, to have tried, examined, and compleated every ſubject, I muſt preſume to fix the attention of mankind upon new objects. If it be demanded what theſe objects are, the anſwer is, that they are become the moſt eſſential to our happineſs; they lead to enquiries into a topic, an obligation, to diſcuſs which, is alarming; they point to the ſolution of a queſtion,

where doubt alone might prove diſgraceful to humanity. Shall men be always the enemies of men? ſhall beings of the beſt organization, at no period, acquire the advantages which the vileſt of the brutes poſſeſs; the advantages of living peaceably with each other? is not ſociety, at leaſt, ſuſceptible of amendment, if not of perfection?

In whatſoever manner this important problem may be reſolved, an ample field will lie open to reflection: the inveſtigation of human nature, as merely within itſelf; the adapting of it to political inſtitutions; and the examination of it, not by theory, but experience, applying it to the knowledge of our errors, aſcending to their ſources, and labouring to divert their courſe, are, all ſubjects to awaken our attention. This laſt ſpecies of enquiry is that on which we now beg leave to fix, perſuaded that the writer who mixes ſome miſtakes amongſt his obſervations and compariſons, may be of uſe to him

him that follows; whilſt the examiner, that wanders wildly from his mark, not only leaves truth behind him, at a diſtance, but becomes liable to deceive others, by directing them to a wrong road.

There was a time, when every author ſeemed infected with the rage of concluding from particulars, to generals. Pretenſions to genius, of all pretenſions the moſt extravagant, were then exceedingly the mode. A leading principle explained, ſome few conſequences, lightly deduced, and ſome few facts, either well or ill adjuſted to the propoſed concluſion, were ſufficient to bear away the prize due to invention and imagination. It was not poſſible for this too great facility of acquiring renown to laſt long. It aroſe from an intercourſe of ſuperficially-inſtructed writers, with readers who knew nothing. The caſe is now altered. Scarcely hath the reader of underſtanding, and application, opened a book, but he can eſtimate its real value. If the work be

without order and connection, he criticiſes the particular paſſages with impartiality, and continues to read on. If it be obſcure, he reaſonably ſuſpects that the author did not, abſolutely, underſtand himſelf: but if it be ſyſtematical, opiniative, and fallacious, he throws it aſide, and will not ſuffer it to be ſpoken of. Theſe enlightened, and perhaps, too well informed readers, unfortunately employed, even to a degree of ſatiety, know that to toil in the purſuit of truths, to confirm, aſſemble, and diſpoſe them in proper order, is the real employment of the man of genius: but this employment is, at once, ſlow, and gradual. The inventor hath marked out his path: by walking after him, one is no longer ſurprized at ſeeing him arrived, and the multitude, having heared, that genius hath wings, are unwilling to acknowledge the print of his footſteps.

Let us leave to theſe celebrated men, who have drawn upon themſelves praiſe, and

and perſecution, the taſk of pleading their own cauſe, and avenging the rights of reaſon: let us even fear leſt we ſhould be thought more raſh in forming, than provident in moderating this attempt: at leaſt, before we engage in obſervations purely hiſtorical, and ſtudious reſearches after facts, and the principles by which they were occaſioned, let us examine for a moment, how far a ſimple ſpeculation could have made us acquainted with the particular relations, the general tendencies, and, in ſhort, all the qualities which are proper to, and characterize human nature. Prepared to conduct our readers through long, and winding ways, let us caſt one glance upon the ſpace which we muſt leave behind, and convince them that thoſe eaſier, and more agreeable roads, the loſs of which they may perhaps regret, are terminated only by extenſive deſarts.

To ſubſiſt, to unite itſelf, to multiply its ſpecies, is the general wiſh of nature;

the great buſineſs of every animated being. If ſociety be eſſentially neceſſary to ſome amongſt theſe, ſtill it is but a ſecondary want, and ſubordinate to thoſe which we have taken notice of before. The vulture, that lives only on its prey, that is dreaded by every other bird, and purſued by man, ſhould daily take a different flight. It repairs, without diſtinction, to all places where it may with eaſe find ſomething to devour; its ſubſiſtance is precarious and irregular: at one time, it is in want of food, and at another, poſſeſſes more than it can poſſibly conſume: it muſt, therefore, provide againſt future neceſſities: it muſt hide its booty. In the night time, it muſt fix its retreat within the ſummits of the ſteepeſt rocks, or on the tops of lofty trees. On the contrary, the pigeons, and the ſtarlings, which readily procure their nouriſhment, in the marſhes and the fields, but whoſe defenceleſs condition expoſes them to perpetual danger, ſeek, in ſociety, thoſe means of protection,

tection, which hurt not the means of ſubſiſtance. Such alſo is the cuſtom amongſt the quadrupeds: tigers, and wolves remain in ſolitude, whilſt the hinds and deer graze all together: but at a certain time, a powerful imperious want ſprings up, and ſinks all others in oblivion. The ſocial animal avoids the reſt of his claſs, to fix his choice on one: the deſires of love, and ſhortly afterwards, the cares of his family, occupy his attention: but, in the ſpecies, which, brutally conſummates the act of generation, and where ſeveral females are enjoyed by the ſame male, and ſeveral males unite themſelves to one female, love makes little alteration in ſociety: the ſexes being indiſcriminately mingled, the animals remain in herds, nor is ſociety diſſolved.

The leſs compound the organization of beings is, the more their operations bear a reſemblance to each other. The neſts of birds, the burrows of rabbets, and the hives of bees are common to the two

ſexes. It is the ſame with regard to cuſtoms, founded on ſimple wants, they are themſelves equally ſimple: deriving their origin from a neceſſity peculiar to all, they continue to be the ſame amongſt all the individuals of the ſame ſpecies: it is thus that nature hath furniſhed us with the means of underſtanding them all, excepting our own, tolerably well. Were we to enter only into a phyſical enquiry, concerning the nature of man, we ſhould find that the ſenſe of feeling, and the perfection of ſpeech, have ſecured to him the acquiſition of ſuch advantages over all the other animals, that his organization, becoming daily more and more complete, is at length rendered too complex to be invariable, and too ſubtile to be regular.

There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the undeviating attachment in a particular ſpecies, to one particular aliment, is leſs the conſequence of an abſolute neceſſity derived from their nature, than of the great, or more inconſiderable difficulty with

with which they procure their food: ſome animals ſubſiſt equally on fleſh and vegetables; by the chace, and in the paſtures; but man, who by the exerciſe of his hands, and the peculiar privilege of ſpeech, is bleſt with ability and ingenuity, can provide himſelf with every kind of ſuſtenance, by hunting, fiſhing, the cultivation of the earth, and other methods. Should not this man, then, adopt different manners and cuſtoms, in conformity to his different means of ſubſiſtance? would the Eſquimaux and the inhabitants of Greenland, who procure their nouriſhment from the oil of fiſh, eat of the aliment of the Iroquois and the Patagonians, whoſe chief food ariſes from the chace? or would all theſe imitate the Laplanders, whoſe domain is the deſart, and whoſe diet is milk?

Love, or the impulſive power of multiplying the ſpecies, ſhould give to every creature a more diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. In fact, women are marked, in phyſical

phyſical order, by an eſſential difference; a difference which may poſſeſs its influence over the ſtate of ſociety, by rendering them fit for generation at every period of the year, and conſequently ſtrengthening the bond by which they are united to man. It ſhould appear then, that amongſt our ſpecies, the commerce of the ſexes might be more frequently purſued, but not that a multitude of men and women ſhould live promiſcuouſly together. Farther, all phyſical inductions ſeem to prove that men and women ſhould not remain too long in couples, like birds, and certain kinds of quadrupeds: the periods of love, geſtation and delivery, being ſimilar amongſt ſuch animals as are individuals of the ſame ſpecies, their ſituations are conſtantly alike, and the general order cannot be interrupted, but for an inſtant, by the competition of their wants; whereas, amongſt mankind, deſire, and the faculty of enjoying it, perpetually exiſting, the union of the pairs might

might be disturbed, whensoever one sex should find itself unable to answer to the urgent invitations of the other sex.

It is then difficult to define what human nature hath fixed, relative to the state of society; but it is, at once, frivolous and useless to propose these questions: "Are "men in a state of mutual and perpetual "war?" "are they born the friends or "the enemies of each other?"... they are friends, whilst lending to each other a reciprocal support, they can the more easily satisfy their mutual wants: they are enemies, whilst circumstances establishing a competition amongst themselves, several strive to obtain that which one only can enjoy. The savages who fish should be more united than the savages who hunt: the Nomades(a) should be more insepe-

rable

(a) Several nations or people were anciently so called on account of their having devoted themselves to the care of their flocks. As the richest pastures were the chief objects of their search, they shifted their abode as often as they perceived one spot to be more fertile than another spot. K.

rable than either. Obſerve the foreſts in the ſummer: at that period, each animal is at peace and unity with the reſt; the ſtags are intermixed with hinds and fawns, they feed, they repoſe themſelves in large herds; but, in September, upon this lately quiet ſpot, a furious war will kindle, and all the wood reſound with bellowings. It hath already been obſerved, that this dreadful interval doth not exiſt amongſt the human ſpecies, who have no particularly fixed time for generation. Theirs ſhould only be the paſſing conteſt or the momentary diſpute.

This then is the reſult of an attentive ſtudy of theſe important queſtions. Is it poſſible to eſtabliſh a moral ſyſtem on notions at once ſo frivolous and obſcure? with ſuch opinions, no reaſonable traveller, prepared to land upon an unknown country, could riſque the leaſt conjecture on its legiſlation or its manners. There is nothing ſo fantaſtical and extraordinary but an inſtance of it may be found amongſt mankind.

mankind. And muſt we ſtill diſpute on general principles, primitive laws, and final cauſes? let us bid defiance to theſe ſublime ravings, for which nothing but genius can apologize, and reſt contented with the aſſurance that the ſtate of ſociety hath effaced even the ſlighteſt traces of what is called the ſtate of nature.

In fact, what are civilized men? if corrupted or amended, they are entirely new beings. They have, as it were, traded and accompliſhed an interchange of whatever might reſult from their reciprocal acquaintance. Man, before this time, ſearched out and choſe his aliments; then having ſubſiſted on them, betook himſelf to reſt: but, from henceforth, confining himſelf, at frequent intervals, within his walls, and either alone, or in company with many of his ſpecies, he neither raiſes nor prepares his food, but awaits, with confidence, its arrival, although it be not ſeldom ſent from places more diſtant than fifteen hundred miles from his abode. There

There are other desires, the covenanting for which is less easy; and these are the desires of love. In every profession which we adopt, in every labour to which we apply, woman is essentially necessary; sometimes, indeed, the necessity of procuring our subsistance, rises in opposition to this other, no less imperious necessity. An attempt must, therefore, be made to reconcile the two. The manufacturer, the day-labourer, the servant, and the soldier can reside but little in the midst of their family: they take a wife, without taking a companion, nor is it possible for them to acquire her, but by being united to her in bonds more close and lasting than those, in which, the gentlest state of society could ever have involved us. The woman, alone, and immersed in an attention to her household affairs, is not less disobedient to the voice of nature. At the call of interest, maternal tenderness must be silent. If it be pointed out to her as a commendable frugality,

frugality, *(b)* ſhe muſt ſuffer the offſprings of this imperfect union to be diſperſed about the country, and ſuckled by mercenary nurſes. Scarcely have they attained to the age of cultivating an acquaintance with their relations, before they are baniſhed from their paternal ſeats, and immured in thoſe priſons, called colleges, ſchools and convents. At length, when all theſe different ſtrangers, who, notwithſtanding, uſurp the names of father, mother, ſon, and daughter, ſhall have met and become united, it will be abſurdly expected that the children ſhould treat their parents with an obedience and veneration equal to any which they might have felt ariſing from the remembrance, that under their roof, their infant weakneſs

(b) It is on ſaving principles, that moſt of the women, engaged in profitable employments, truſt their children to ſtrange nurſes: the care of an infant at the breaſt would occupy the mother's time too much, and ſtop the progreſs of her work.

neſs was protected, and their dependance on that protection amply underſtood.

We will expatiate no longer on contraſts ſo exceedingly ſtriking: poſſeſſed of too dangerous an attraction, how frequently have they occaſioned the coolneſs of diſcuſſion, to degenerate into agreeable, but frivolous turns of wit! ſuffice it to remark, that they do not prove what is called the ſtate of nature, to be preferable to the ſtate of ſociety, but, only, that the ſenſe generally given to theſe expreſſions, is a very miſtaken ſenſe. If, by the ſtate of nature, the moſt brutal ſtate exiſting be ſolely underſtood, it may be ſaid to reign not more amongſt the ſavages, than in our foreſts and our fields. He who is become tired of his park, declares in favour of a walk amongſt the meadows, becauſe he loves to enjoy nature. Nevertheleſs he ſees nothing but the fruit of a long and painful work. If we regard as natural, all which is within the order of nature; all which is accom-

pliſhed

pliſhed in conſequence of its powers and its laws, then is there a ſtate of nature as peculiar to the city, as to the country; to the tradeſman, as to the huſbandman; to the man that launches out into ſociety, as to him that buries himſelf in ſolitude. *(c)* To argue ſtill farther: in every condition is an irreſiſtible attraction which impells all beings towards the acquiſition of the beſt ſtate that may be poſſible; and it is here that we muſt look for that phyſical revelation which is to ſerve as an oracle to all the legiſlators. The great error is the conſtantly withdrawing ſome part of the idea from the other parts, and giving way to general and empty deciſions. Do we feel ourſelves ſhocked at the corruption which infects the great cities? we

(c) That ſtate in which all things are brought about by a natural and perfect unravelling, may be regarded as a ſtate of nature: from hence it plainly follows that political ſocieties are natural. (ἐκ τούτων δὴ φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν φύσει πολισθέντε) are the words of Ariſtotle, in his treatiſe on republics. b. 1. c. 2.

we oppoſe to it the ruſtic manners of the huſbandman and the ſhepherd. In our addreſſes to preſent, and our eulogies on former kings, we cite Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. If a ſyſtem of morals be recommended to an opulent and commercial nation, the Scythians and the Spartans are brought forward as models for its imitation. Were it not better to purſue a different method? let every thing that is faulty, without being at all neceſſary, be preſcribed. Let alſo the nature of thoſe things, which are faulty, but yet, in ſome meaſure neceſſary, be examined to the bottom; that is, let the reſult of phyſical circumſtances be ſo ſcrupulouſly ſifted, as to accompliſh the drawing of the beſt part that can be taken. All nations cannot be under the ſame government: even in the ſame nation, ſimilar laws, policies, and cuſtoms cannot be adapted to the genius of every town and every claſs of citizens; yet all have a general

neral pretenſion to the greateſt advantages, which can be ſecured to them.

Peace is the firſt bleſſing which a people ſhould implore. Peace is the great ſource of all order and of all good. What efforts can they make to give permanence to the benefits which they might enjoy, who are continually engaged in preparations to attack others, or to defend themſelves? no land is cultivated, whilſt the title to the enjoyment of it is litigated in a court of juſtice. War creates a ferocity of manners. It holds out ſuch objects of glory and ambition, as the moſt unpoliſhed minds may ſeize with little difficulty, and thus perverts our uſeful paſſions by ennobling our vices, and every where ſubſtituting force in the place of juſtice. The firſt ſtep, therefore, towards accompliſhing the happineſs of mankind, ſhould be to lengthen the duration of peace, and leſſen the frequency of war. Should this ever happen, there will be ſome room to imagine that the alteration is in ſight, and

that its progreſs is already begun. Such a reflection will engage us to pay a particular attention to whatſoever may relate to this grand object. To facilitate our obſervations, it may not, perhaps, be improper to examine, in this place, what are the cauſes of war; or rather, what are the reaſons which determine one ſociety of men to attack another ſociety.

The firſt motive, which preſents itſelf, is the deſire of quitting a ſevere, unwholeſome climate, for a climate more mild and healthy; a barren land, for a more fruitful land; an inconvenient habitation, for a more commodious habitation. The ſecond motive is founded on a competition for ſeveral enjoyments, either neceſſary or uſeful; ſuch as the power of hunting, fiſhing, and the poſſeſſion of mines, *&c.* A third reaſon may be diſcovered in the ignorance and barbarity of ſome yet untutored people, who, deſtitute of every idea of moderation and equity, are apt to be eaſily exaſperated, and make, for ſlight offences,

offences, the cruelleſt repriſals. The fourth cauſe is no more than the conſequence of the ſame principle. It is occaſioned by a ſtupid credulity, on the one hand, and the dominion of a deluſive hierarchy on the other: a government, at once, tyrannical and intolerant, impoſed upon the eaſy faith of human kind, by the juglers amongſt the ſavages; by the ancient prieſts of Ægypt, and of Æthiopia; by the Greeks, in the delivery of thoſe celebrated oracles, which the ſuperſtition of former times attributed to God, and which the preſent times, have, with equal ſuperſtition, imputed to the devil. To conclude, the fifth motive, of all others the moſt powerful, and yet the moſt concealed, derives its ſource from every vice inherent to the conſtitution of the ſtate. Theſe are thoſe interior vices, which may be conſidered as the hidden ſeed of almoſt every exterior war: in like manner, the defects in particular ſyſtems of politics give birth to civil wars.

Were we to peruſe the annals of hiſtory, we ſhould perceive how juſtly the origin of all the wars might be referred to one of theſe principles. If, alſo, we ſhould at the ſame time, diſcover, from reflection, that the activity of theſe principles is blunted and decaying, we may reaſonably hope that the condition of humanity is ſuſceptible of amendment. On the other hand, if an examination of the moſt eſteemed acts of particular legiſlatures, ſhould convince us that all ſocieties have formed themſelves in a ſtate of war, having no intention, ſave that of defending themſelves at one time, and invading, and plundering at another, the reſult will ſtill be, that againſt the future ages, the experience of the paſt ages can prove nothing. Let me go ſtill farther. If the ſole aim of all ſociety and of all legiſlation had been calculated even to procure mankind the greateſt happineſs, its not having been yet acquired, can be no matter of aſtoniſhment. The antiquity of

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the world is indeed atteſted by phyſical demonſtration, but hiſtory proves that ſocieties are ſtill extremely recent; at leaſt, they are recent in moſt parts of the globe. No; fifty generations *(d)* do not contain too unlimited a time to be ſpent in the

(d) Reckoning ſixty years to the duration of man's life, fifty generations will carry us back three thouſand years; that is, into the fabulous ages. I allow that it is almoſt impoſſible for a ſucceſſion of fifty perſons to have exiſted, each of whoſe lives compleated the courſe of ſixty years: but as only the progreſs of knowledge is the matter in queſtion, we need but reckon thoſe men who died at an age ſufficiently advanced to have acquired all the experience of life. I know that it is univerſally granted that the Chineſe empire hath been eſtabliſhed more than three thouſand years; and that its forms of government (if accounts miſtake not) are the moſt perfect and happy of all thoſe of which we have any knowledge. The reſt of the world alſo muſt be far advanced. The wiſdom and ſtability, peculiar to the Chineſe government, will prevent me from taking any notice of it in the courſe of this work; and, to confeſs the truth, I do not think myſelf ſufficiently inſtructed in this point to write on it in a manner ſuitable to my wiſhes.

taſk of arriving at the perfect knowledge of man, in his phyſical and moral capacity; of eſtimating all the prejudices and all the ridiculous ideas which owe their birth, either to fear or hope; of daring to attack them in thoſe intrenchments prepared for them by force or cunning; of forming a genius capable of governing; of collecting every different circumſtance which may contribute to ſtop the tyrant in an intended act of uſurpation; (an act, the perpetration of which may be effected by talents leſs elevated than thoſe required to eſtabliſh order and the happineſs of the ſubject) in a word, of deſtroying every obſtacle which the diſtance of places, the difficulty of arriving at them, and the varieties of lineaments, language, manners and opinions had thrown up againſt the reunion and harmony of particular nations: Still let us reſt contented, that readers of a gloomier caſt ſhould turn aſide with indignation from theſe expreſſions of our hopes: although

though they think it doubtful that the ſocial world ſhould ever reach perfection, yet may not this picture of the condition of humanity, through all its various revolutions, be ſufficiently intereſting to awaken their attention? will they eſteem it an unbecoming employment, to examine the influence of every legiſlation, over the happineſs of the people? if ſo many authors have written the hiſtory of men, will no one read, with ſome pleaſure, the hiſtory of humanity? let us enter upon our courſe, not with the preſumption ariſing from the vanity which arrogates to itſelf the merit of ſuperior abilities, but with that confidence which an object, noble and unlimited, muſt naturally inſpire: a confidence, not regulated, alone, by honeſt and diſintereſted views, but aiming at the preference which is more frequently given to eſteem than to celebrity and applauſe.

AN

SECTION I.

Conſiderations on the lot of Human Nature, in the earlieſt ages of antiquity.

AN

ESSAY

ON

PVBLIC HAPPINESS.

CHAP. I.

Remarks on the Ægyptians, Aſſyrians, Medes, &c.

A Melancholy idea muſt ariſe from the reflexion that the firſt epoch with which hiſtory preſents us, owes its exiſtence to war. Oſiris, or Bacchus, carrying the ſword within his hand, croſſes the Nile, to teach the arts of agriculture to the people, whom he had reduced into a ſubjection to his laws. In ſome ages,

ages, after this period, Seſoſtris, at the head of a formidable army, marches towards the conqueſt of ſeveral nations, of whoſe name he, undoubtedly, was ignorant. Theſe are the moſt diſtant æras of the ancient, and reſpectable Ægyptian monarchy, which, as it was diſtinguiſhed by two victorious kings, ſo, conſequently, was it marked by two wars exceedingly unjuſt. The moſt ſingular circumſtance was, that neither of the conquerors ſeemed to deſire the poſſeſſion of the country, which he had overcome. After having erected ſome monuments, and exacted tributes, they marched on, like travellers in arms, determined to be the maſters of every place they viſited.

No one, not diſpoſed to affect an univerſal doubt of the authenticity of all ancient hiſtory, can diſbelieve the exiſtence of two men, celebrated for intrepidity and underſtanding, who have given riſe to the accounts which the Ægyptians delivered of their Oſiris, and their Seſoſtris: but the fables, in which theſe accounts are wrapped, the attributing the invention of agriculture to Oſiris, and the antiquity of all the traditions drawn from Herodotus, ſufficiently prove that they relate

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to the infancy of ſociety, and that they have been disfigured by time. The moſt incontrovertible teſtimony in the writings of Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, alludes to that long interval of peace, which the Ægyptian monarchy, above all others, enjoyed after the expiration of the fabulous ages: nor can we eaſily give way to ſcepticiſm, if we conſider that theſe ſame hiſtorians who have not tranſmitted to us the memorials of any war, from the reign of Seſoſtris, to that of Apries, have, notwithſtanding, enumerated the names of thoſe princes, who filled up this interval, and alſo entered largely into the ſeveral particulars of their lives.

If, in the beginning of this eſſay, it be poſſible to unite the idea of an exceedingly long, and almoſt conſtant peace, with the idea of ſo diſtant and reputable a monarchy, it muſt prove a very favourable omen. It is, then, clear, that whatſoever the nature of man may be, good laws, and excellent adminiſtrations can ſuppreſs the propenſities to war. Had all the earth been peopled with nations, governed like the inhabitants of Ægypt, the problem of the poſſibility of a perpetual peace might have been demonſtrated

ſtrated by facts, or perhaps, never propoſed: no contradiction, however, can be brought againſt the ſuppoſition that the world may one day prove ſufficiently enlightened, univerſally to bear a mode of government, to which a ſmaller portion of mankind had formerly ſubmitted. All that relates to Ægypt is ſo well known, that it is unneceſſary to tire the learned reader with a repetition of that matter which he hath ſo often peruſed in other treatiſes: I muſt even imagine, that he is ready to inform me, that, in truth, the Ægyptians enjoyed excellent laws; but that the relation of thoſe laws to the ſupport of peace, and the deſire of confirming its duration, is not eaſily diſcernible; that we know but little of the real conſtitution and government of this nation, in which we obſerve a king exceedingly conſtrained, and tied down to the minuteſt forms;(e) that we have as

(e) Diodorus Siculus obſerves, that the employments of the kings of Ægypt were ſo exactly marked, and portioned out into diſtinct diviſions of time, that they could neither eat, nor ſleep; nor, even enjoy their own wives, but at the hour appointed by the laws; ſo that their kings may be ſaid to have gotten children, as our princes publiſh their ordinances; by the advice of council.

as little information concerning the perſon who watched over the execution of thoſe laws, to which he was obliged to conform; that, whilſt we are certain that their prieſts were inveſted with great powers, we cannot determine whether they were legiſlative, or reſiſting powers; and, in ſhort, that all is involved in obſcurity, till we arrive at that detail, entered into by Diodorus. To this I the more readily agree, as it operates in favour of my argument; it cannot be expected that I ſhould give my readers an exact inſight into the nature of the government peculiar to the Ægyptians; but ſince ſo many particulars are concealed from us, let us hold by thoſe we have: let us aſſert, with Solon, that if their laws were not, abſolutely, the beſt exiſting, at leaſt, they were the beſt for them, as having proved ſo very efficacious. Our niceſt examinations into this ſubject will, doubtleſs, be clouded with obſcurities; yet we ſhall find ſome excellent materials: the long duration of this monarchy, the abundance of its enjoyments, and the applauſe which it hath received from every people, and from every age, ſhould be ſufficient to confirm our moſt favourable opinion of thoſe

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other circumſtances, with which we cannot pretend to be acquainted.

On the contrary, if we turn our attention towards the Aſſyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes, and the Lydians, we ſhall, every where, obſerve a deſpotiſm, the moſt abſolute, a ſeries of victories, the moſt abſurd, an avarice inſatiably collecting riches, and an extravagance which perverted them to the worſt purpoſes.

Ninus, the firſt fatal ſtar that ſhone in that horizon, hath ſtained the page of hiſtory with cruelty, and injuſtice. He attacked, and defeated the people, ſince called the Babylonians. He made their king a priſoner, and ordered that he ſhould be executed with his children. He, then, marched againſt the Medes, put them to flight, and having taken Pharnus, their ſovereign, he not only crucified the unhappy prince, but even his wife, and all his offspring: from thence, he turned his arms towards Bactria, and added it to his conqueſts. Semiramis, the accomplice, the queen, and the aſſaſſin of this tyrant, did juſtice to the world in the deſtruction of the author of thoſe cruelties which they had felt; and in her turn committed crimes for which

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ſhe ſhould have met an equal fate. Her ambition approached to madneſs; ſhe ſubdued, ſucceſſively, Media, Perſia, Lybia, and Æthiopia; at length, as if ſhe would have ſubdued nature herſelf, ſhe levelled mountains, changed the courſe of rivers, and raiſed, even to the ſkies, the monuments of her folly.

To theſe cruelly-heroic reigns, ſucceeded ſome intervals of repoſe. There were kings, doubtleſs, worthy of our applauſe, (for tradition has not named them) who gave mankind a breathing time, and were ſo fortunate as to diſcover pleaſures, the enjoyment of which, was deſtructive to no one. Sardanapalus, the laſt of this dynaſty, too effeminate, but much leſs guilty than the greater part of the chieftains of hiſtory, hath been treated with contempt by ancient writers, whoſe ſpirit of invective hath not been loſt upon the moderns. Like Darius, Perſius, and many other princes, his empire was torn from him, becauſe he did not gain a battle: and yet, he choſe death in preference to ignominious bondage: no monarchs, with their queens, and children, were ever executed by his command; he never made his ſubjects groan and ſweat beneath the toil of piling

ſtones the one upon the other. The moſt pious authors have, notwithſtanding, left Ninus and Semiramis in the peaceable poſſeſſion of reputation, to direct the united force of all their ſatire upon Sardanapalus. The Medes, having conquered Sardanapalus, ſoon ſubdued all Perſia. They, then, attacked the new Aſſyrian empire, founded by Belus; but whilſt they were, obſtinately, purſuing this war, they were aſſaulted, in their turn, by the Cimmerian Scythians; and after having been conſtrained to divide the empire between them, they got rid of their inconvenient gueſts, deſtroying them by an act of treachery, of all others, the moſt unmanly.

The next in turn is Cyrus. Hiſtory doth not declare, preciſely, on what occaſion the war was kindled between this celebrated conqueror, and a prince, whoſe mingled lot of good, and ill fortune, hath rendered him no leſs remarkable. I mean Crœſus, king of Lydia; a name in the mouths of many, who are ignorant of his hiſtory. It is equally difficult to aſſign the real cauſes to all the other wars which Cyrus waged, and which, in the end, made him the ſovereign of Aſia.

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So different are the recitals of Herodotus, and Zenophon, that every competent reader, obſerving, on the one hand, ſuch fabulous puerilities, and on the other, a moral treatiſe, thrown into ſcenes of action, ſeems, as it were, reduced to a kind of choice between the Orlando of Arioſto, and the Telemachus of Fenelon. Let us, therefore, content ourſelves with believing, that there exiſted, in former times, a conqueror named Cyrus, who ſubdued Aſia, and founded the Perſian empire.*(f)*

(f) Mr. Rollin is far from having thrown much light on the obſcurity of theſe diſtant ages. He begins by relating, with all the gravity of hiſtory, the little romantic details with which Xenophon has judged proper to adorn his cyropœdia. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that the inſinuation that, poſſibly, not a word of truth is in all this, frequently eſcapes him: nevertheleſs, he continues to take the account of all the principal facts as far down as the battle of Thymbria, from Zenophon. Then, ſhifting round to the teſtimony of Herodotus, he will have it that Cyrus engages in a freſh battle near Sardis, where he makes him have recourſe once more to the ſtratagem of oppoſing camels, to the cavalry, without perceiving that all this is but the ſame ſtory, variouſly related by two different authors. He goes farther, not to loſe the hiſtory of

A ſufficient number of facts hath already been advanced in a work not hiſtorical: let us, now, paſs on to thoſe ſuggeſtions which muſt naturally ariſe; and firſt, it may be obſerved

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of Crœſus, who, on the funeral pile, invokes Solon, he ſuppoſes that this ſame Cyrus, whom he hath held out as a model to kings, had condemned his enemy, to be burnt alive: and this he advances without deigning to make the ſmalleſt apology for this extravagant inequality in the character of his hero. I cannot deny myſelf the liberty of making one more obſervation. He had a greater advantage in printing his work forty years ago, when the language met with indulgence, than he could have expected now. Here follows an example of Mr. Rollin's ſtile: ſpeaking of Gobrias, the Aſſyrian general, he ſays: "le roi mort depuis peu qui en connoiſſoit tout le merite, et le conſideroit extrémement, avoit reſolû de donner ſa fille en marriage a ſon fils." I believe that every thinking reader will be offended with this grammatical inceſt, which ſo religious a man as Mr. Rollin, has made the king of Aſſyria commit; either the prince choſe to marry his own daughter, to his own ſon; or the daughter of Gobrias, to the ſon of Gobrias. In ſome lines lower, Mr. Rollin talks of a citadel in which this ſame Gobrias lodged: (logeſit)—lodge in a citadel! the ancient hiſtory, and the Romiſh hiſtory, which are, on many accounts, valuable productions, furniſh faults ſtill more diſguſting than theſe.

Having given, with the cold fidelity of a tranſlator, the verbal conſtruction of this note, the author muſt pardon

ſerved that as hiſtory hath not tranſmitted to us any accounts of the government of the people, of whom we have been treating, we can only form a judgement from the appearances of facts. Theſe appearances acquaint us that the government was abſolutely military, and deſpotic; and(g) it is well known

pardon me for thinking ſome parts of it, inconſiſtent with his natural ſpirit of liberality. The moſt eminent in the learned world have nothing about their characters ſo ſacred, as to exempt them from a detection of their errors: but genius hath a title to reſpect, and the diſcovery of its miſtakes, can never be too delicately expoſed. It is impoſſible to peruſe the French ſentence, and the remarks on it, without a ſmile; yet it will not be, in either caſe, a ſmile of approbation. The meaning of Rollin is eaſily underſtood, and this facetious expoſition, was beneath the wit that made it. The other charge is, indeed, of more conſequence, and requires an abler advocate than I am, to confute it. The freedom with which our author criticiſes the ſtile of Rollin, will not eaſily diſpoſe him, to believe that the ſincerity of Atterbury was equal to his complaiſance. A paſſage in the letter which that exile wrote to Rollin, runs thus: ſi Gallicè ſciſſet Xenophon, non aliis illum in eo argumento quod tractas verbis uſurum, non alio prorſus more ſcripturum judicem." K.

(g) It would be uncandid to attempt, in this place, to conceal the eulogies which Herodotus, and Zenophon have beſtowed upon the ancient Perſians. It is even

that a prince, ruling with unlimited authority, muſt have acquired that authority by the means of ſuch an army as he could not have been maſter of, unleſs that he had waged war. We ſhall not, therefore, heſitate to aſſign the vices of government, and the ignorance of political, and moral principles, as the cauſes of thoſe wars, to which we have, already alluded. And, here, the irruption of thoſe Scythians who came from the Boſphorus, is well worthy of our notice. It may be ſeen, for the firſt time, how theſe inhabitants of the North, ſpread themſelves through the moſt fertile countries, and triumphed over the moſt warlike nations. What is ſtill more extraordinary, they made the ſame

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even neceſſary to confeſs, that (if Herodotus may be believed) this people were leſs barbarous than ourſelves, as they never puniſhed the firſt crime with death; and as the legiſlature had enacted no penalty againſt parricide, from the principle, that inſanity alone could drive a man to the perpetration of ſuch an act: but, excluſive of the impoſſibility that, merely, good civil laws can be ſufficient to conſtitute a good form of government, it is evident that the manners of the Perſians were more calculated to render the people warlike, and victorious, than to inſpire them with a love of agriculture, and all the arts of peace.

ſame treaty with the Medes, into which they entered afterwards with the Roman emperors; that is to ſay, they ſtipulated with the ancient poſſeſſors, for the enjoyment of a joint partnerſhip in their lands, and for that ſingular manner of reigning with others, in quality of gueſts.*(b)* It is clear then that this ſpecies of war refers to our firſt principle: the deſire of quitting a rigorous climate, for a more mild climate.

(b) Conſult the remarks of l'Abbé du Bos, on the French monarchy, in which this ingenious author proves, that the Franks, and the Lombards, who ſettled in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, gave out that they were the gueſts (hoſpites) of the Romans, and that their chief ſtiled himſelf king of the Franks, and Lombards, but not king of the Gauls, and of Italy.

CHAP. II.

The means of eſtimating the happineſs of mankind, and more particularly, the happineſs of the people exiſting during the firſt ages of antiquity.

OUR inveſtigation of the firſt epochas of hiſtory muſt prove exceedingly uſeleſs, if, from the multitude of events with which it preſents us, we were unable to draw ſome general facts; facts infinitely more certain than thoſe which have been ſo ſedulouſly tranſmitted to us, and which, like grains of duſt, could have no weight, unleſs united in a ſingle maſs. The facts, to which we allude, are thoſe important ones, which hiſtorians have almoſt conſtantly neglected, as if willing

willing to treat of every thing, excepting that which was inconteſtably true. It is not abſolutely certain that Cyrus, at the head of one hundred thouſand Perſians, gained a victory over five hundred thouſand Aſſyrians, Ægyptians, &c. or that Ninus built a city more than twenty-eight miles in length; but it is certain, on the one hand, that an army well diſciplined, and commanded by a warlike king, triumphed over an ignorant, and undiſciplined multitude; and, on the other hand, that a nation of ſlaves, almoſt deprived of ſenſe, by the impoſition of a galling yoke, were condemned to labour in obedience to the caprice of a mad, and arbitrary tyrant.

Can we, amongſt all the ſpeculations to which hiſtory may give occaſion, diſcover one more excellent and more entitled to our attention, than that the great object of which is the happineſs of human nature? many authors have, diligently, examined, how far one nation ſurpaſſed another, in religion, in temperance, and in valour: but no one hath attempted to diſcover which nation was the happieſt. Were the Ægyptians, in this reſpect, ſuperior to the Medes; the Medes

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to the Greeks, and the Greeks to the Romans? theſe are points, to determine which, but little pains have yet been taken. If any one hath ventured to diſcuſs the ſubject, his concluſions hath been drawn from vague, and inſufficient principles.

One great, and common error, amidſt a multitude of other errors, is the confounding the people with the government. The people are ſuppoſed to be happy, whenſoever the government proſpers: inſtead of keeping in view the good of individuals, nothing is conſidered but the growth, and duration of empires, as if the public proſperity, and the general felicity, were two inſeparable matters. For this, the Cynic was, facetiouſly, told that he ſhould have changed the maxim, "ſalus populi ſuprema lex eſto," into "ſalus gubernantium ſuprema lex eſto." I ſhall have more occaſions than one to complain againſt theſe prejudices: but, for the preſent, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe reflections which have been ſuggeſted to me by the facts under examination. I ſhall begin by an aſſertion that I do not think that any nation hath been happy, becauſe it may have erected immenſe pyramids, or magnificent palaces. On the contrary,

contrary, I preſume that theſe ſuperb edifices, and vaſt monuments, indicated the poor condition, and limited abilities of the people who aſſiſted in the raiſing of them. As this truth reſults from very extenſive principles, I cannot diſpenſe with the neceſſity of explaining them. They belong to the ſcience of Economicks; a ſcience equally difficult, and obſcure; to define it, hath been the buſineſs of multitudes; but to agree in thoſe definitions, the lot of few. Theſe principles will, then, have ſome merit, ſhould they prove true, and clear: and I dare flatter myſelf, that, in ſpite of the quantity of writings, which have appeared on this ſubject, they will not be deſtitute of novelty. It is, indeed, a cold, and dry diſcuſſion; but I ſhould be guilty of injuſtice to the age in which I live, and to my readers, were I to feel an inclination to avoid it.

In every attempt to eſtimate the happineſs, or the miſery of the people, the impoſts with which they were laden, have been almoſt the ſole objects of conſideration. No eſtimation hath been made of the rigour of theſe impoſts, but from the mode in which they were levied; that is, according to their nearer,

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or more diſtant approach to the form of a tribute, and ſuch a one, alſo, as the contributor was compelled to take from his private purſe, and give to his ſovereign. Now, it ſeems to me, that there is a more extenſive, and ſure method of eſtimating the condition of the ſubject, as it may bear ſome relation to the prince, in caſes where the weight of the tax preſſes upon the firſt; as thus:

Firſt: how many days in the year, or hours in the day, can a man work, without either incommoding himſelf, or becoming unhappy? one may perceive, at the firſt glance, that this queſtion refers to the nature of the climate; to the conſtitution, and to the ſtrength of men; to their education, to their aliments; &c. &c. all, caſes, which may be eaſily reſolved.

Secondly, how many days muſt a man work in the year, or, how many hours muſt he work in the day, to procure for himſelf that which is neceſſary to his preſervation, and his eaſe? having reſolved theſe queſtions, it will be no difficult matter to determine how many days in the year, or how many hours in the day, may remain for this man to diſpoſe of: that is to ſay, how many may be demanded

of him, without robbing him either of the means of ſubſiſtance, or of welfare: ſo that, now, the whole matter reſts upon an examination, whether the performance of that duty, which the ſovereign exacts from him, be within, or beyond the time, which each man can ſpare from his abſolutely neceſſary avocations.

In the interim, to draw from this expoſition, all its reſulting conſequences, we muſt imagine that every part of the labour, exerciſed throughout the ſtate, is equally divided amongſt a ſet of individuals. I would ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that every man being obliged to build, furniſh, and maintain an houſe; to procure, and dreſs his victuals; to equip himſelf with cloathing, &c. &c. muſt, conſequently be, at once, a maſon, a tiler, a cultivator of the ground, a cook, a weaver, a taylor, a ſhoe-maker, &c. &c. After this, it will be neceſſary to calculate either the number of days in the year, or of hours in the day, which muſt be ſet apart for this employment: and then, it muſt be determined what time he hath left upon his hands, to be diſpoſed of, in the ſervice of his ſovereign. Thus, ſhall we be led to a juſt

deciſion

deciſion on the happineſs, or the miſery of the people.

Such as have exerciſed their thoughts on theſe economical matters, will, ſoon, perceive that it is this remaining time, which will, whenever it ſhall be thus employed, produce (either for the ſovereign, or that perſon who may poſſeſs the right of managing it) the *net revenue*, which hath given birth to ſo many diſputes. They will, alſo, be convinced that, if the demands of the ſovereign become too exceſſive, the reſult will, immediately, be, that the ſubject, condemned to diminiſh the number of thoſe hours, which he had deſtined to his own proper uſes, muſt behold the fruits of all his induſtry, and culture, fallen to decay; in ſhort, this ſame ſubject, thus loſing the neceſſaries of his life, muſt either deſert or periſh.

Let us, now, endeavour to lead the queſtion back, by degrees, to the propoſed object. Let us examine, for inſtance, what concluſions, in ſupport of the power, and the happineſs of the Ægyptians, may be drawn from our knowledge of thoſe immenſe monuments, for the raiſing of which, they have been ſo celebrated. This matter may be

ſeen

ſeen in ſeveral different lights: firſt, the population of Ægypt having been extenſive, it may have happened that the avocations from the other uſual, and neceſſary labours, to thoſe of aſſiſting in the ſtructure of theſe vaſt edifices, were not of ſuch material conſequence, becauſe the work was ſubdivided amongſt all the individuals, who, by turns, relieved each other.

Secondly, theſe ſame buildings might have occaſioned the employment of all that time, which remained to be diſpoſed of.

Thirdly, the population not having been ſufficiently conſiderable, the portion of leiſure time became too ſmall, and occaſioned a breaking in upon the time that ſhould have been otherwiſe employed.

In the fourth place, poſſibly, the population was not conſiderable, but, at the ſame time, the wants of individuals were ſo limited, that they were unemployed enough to labour, without inconvenience, in the ſervice of their ſovereign.

It, now, remains to determine, under which of theſe four predicaments the Ægyptians fall. And, perhaps, this taſk is not ſo difficult as one might, at firſt, imagine it to be,

be, conſidering the great diſtance at which theſe objects are removed from us. We know that the inundations of the Nile diminiſhed, and reduced, almoſt to nothing, the labours neceſſary to cultivation. The Ægyptians, therefore, were always ſure of enjoying plentiful harveſts at a ſmall expence. On the other hand, we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe people were very refined, and extravagant, in the ornaments of their perſons, the ſetting out of their tables, and other ſimilar expences. It will not, therefore, be impoſſible to prove that each individual was employed but few days in the year, or few hours in the day, in procuring his neceſſary conveniencies. Indeed, a fair calculation might be made: it is a problem, which, being reſolved by algebraical computations, will eaſily aſcertain the numerical proportions.

One very important circumſtance, is, that this will, naturally, lead us to a definition of luxury, and its effects. We may, at preſent call it, all the employment of time which breaks in upon that, of which particulars, and the ſtate, have a real want. According to this principle, it would be an equal luxury,

were

were a nation, either, to apparel themſelves with a ſtuff, which exacted, from each individual, an hour of labour, every day, or to dreſs the hair in a manner which, daily, took up the ſame ſpace of time: but theſe two articles can only be conſidered as acts of luxury, in proportion to their encroachments upon that time, which cannot eaſily be ſpared from more neceſſary avocations.

And, here, I may be aſked what poſſibility there is, of aſcertaining the quantity of labour which each individual ſhould reſerve for his own uſe? Were it to happen that one particular perſon ſhould be uneaſy, unleſs he could be clad in velvet, would you eſteem it neceſſary that ſuch a portion of time ſhould be employed in the raiſing of ſilk-worms, and the manufactory of velvets? perhaps ſo. And, why not, if that were poſſible? but the fact is, that a ſimilar inſtance cannot ariſe. I ſhall, therefore, have no occaſion to anſwer this objection, being able to advance a general principle; and this principle is, that the wants of particulars, ſhould be limited by the wants of the ſtate; that is, that private convenience ſhould only follow public ſecurity, and that a certain enjoyment

is preferable to an extended enjoyment. I will add, that it is this conſideration, which fixes limits to eaſe, and to luxury; ſo that luxury may, equally invade the province of the ſubject, and the province of the ſovereign; and (not to mention the pomp of courts) is found as frequently amidſt too numerous armies, as in the exceſſes of too magnificent an apparel: in ſhort, if the Sybarites were too luxurious in their paſſion for effeminacy, the Spartans were equally involved in too extravagant a thirſt of glory, and ambition.

It is an indiſputable point, (or, at leaſt, there is room to think it, in this philoſophical age, an acknowledged truth) that the firſt object of all governments, ſhould be to render the people happy. On every occaſion where (plans having been concerted to aggrandize the government) the ſubjects become conſtrained to ſacrifice a part of either thoſe days in the year, or thoſe hours in the day, ſo neceſſary to be employed towards their own private advantage, unpardonable exceſſes, and abſolute abuſes will, naturally, creep in. On the other hand, if a ſoft, and enervated people ſhould refuſe to furniſh the ſtate with ſuch a portion of labour as may be neceſſary

neceſſary to maintain the public ſecurity, they will expoſe themſelves, by ſo negligent a proviſion, an eaſy prey to the firſt power that may think proper to attack them: and this is a misfortune which they quickly muſt experience. But, how often may circumſtances float between theſe two extremes, without ever meeting? it is this which multiplies, in ſo great a degree, the nature, and complexion of either the miſery, or the proſperity, viſible amongſt different nations, and in different ages.

We ſhall give but a ſmall number of inſtances of the various modes in which theſe cauſes may act. An ignorant, and ſlothful people, knowing neither their faculties, nor their wants, may remain in ſo annihilating a ſituation, as not even to employ, in proper uſes, as much time as might be neceſſary to eſtabliſh them in the poſſeſſion of a peaceful and advantageous life. It may, alſo, happen, that the government, exacting from this people, a certain portion of labour, may accuſtom them to activity, and induſtry; and then, the ſovereign, by augmenting the number of days in the year, or of hours in the day, which he might exact from the ſub-

ject, would augment, in a ſimilar proportion, the time which this ſubject would employ to his own advantage.

On the other hand, were a people to exiſt, who, enjoying a mild, and fruitful climate, and contented with the benefits of nature, feel no uneaſineſs of deſire, we ſhould pronounce this repoſe to be one of their chief eſſentials; and ill-concerted muſt be that policy, which could wiſh to add any thing either to the labour which they had reſerved for private uſes, or that labour which they had deſtined for the ſervice of the ſtate.

After all, it may arrive that the ſtate may exact too much from the people, without haſtening on a national decay: but the bad conſequences of this exceſs are ſtill exiſting; and if the ſubject be not robbed of that which is neceſſary to ſupport life, at leaſt, he is plundered of the means of making that life agreeable.

May we not, now, infer that the firſt caſe is naturally applicable to the inhabitants of the temperate climates, and even to the northern nations? that the ſecond caſe extends to the ſouthern nations, ſuch as the Italians, the Greeks, and the Aſiatics? and that the third

third caſe refers to almoſt every warlike nation, inhabiting the centre of Europe.

Another truth reſulting from our principles, and which we have already ſhewn, is, that no *net revenue* exiſts, unleſs it be at all thoſe times, whenſoever individuals are obliged to work ſo long in the ſervice of the ſtate, as to break in upon thoſe hours which they intended to have appropriated to their own private uſes. In Ægypt, for inſtance, all the *net revenue* belonged to the king, to the prieſts, and to the ſoldiers; for it is remarkable, that, amongſt this people, there were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no owners of lands. The labourers, like the artiſans, formed a claſs of mercenaries; or rather, the firſt were reduced to the rank of farmers, as they were only the mere cultivators of thoſe lands, which belonged to the three great proprietaries of ſtate.

That the *net revenue* of the Ægyptians was exceedingly conſiderable, will not admit of any doubt; particularly, if we reflect on the great number of prieſts which this nation entertained, and the enormous ſums which their kings laviſhed on buildings: excluſive of all this, they had, conſtantly, on foot, an army of

four hundred thouſand men, which will appear the more extravagant, when we recollect that Diodorus Siculus eſtimates the population of Ægypt, in the moſt flouriſhing times, at a rate no higher than the number of ſeven millions of inhabitants.*(i)*

We cannot very well determine whether or no the Ægyptians had occaſion for ſuch a multitude of troops. It appears, only, that this nation was neither engaged in broils, nor in victories, and, therefore, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that ſo numerous a militia was neceſſary to its preſervation. As to the quantity of prieſts, which it ſupported, we can ſtile it nothing but an immoderate ſuperfluity. It was the luxury of ignorance, of

(i) I preſume that a ſmall contradiction is in this paſſage of Diodorus, for, at the ſame time that he only allows ſeven millions of inhabitants to Egypt, he ſays, that this kingdom contains a very great number of villages, and more than eighteen thouſand towns. Now, were we to ſuppoſe that each town was peopled with only a thouſand men, the number of inhabitants would amount to eighteen millions. After this chapter had been written, I met with the ſame obſervation in a diſſertation by Mr. Hume, on the population of ancient nations. I ſhall, hereafter, have more occaſions than one, to avail myſelf of this excellent work.

of all other luxuries the moſt detrimental, becauſe equally incapable of exciting induſtry, and producing one agreeable enjoyment.

Let us, now, endeavour to form an eſtimate of the happineſs which the Ægyptians might have enjoyed, if, inſtead of furniſhing a ſubſiſtance for ſo many prieſts, and ſoldiers, they had employed all their leiſure time in procuring the commodities of life: the concluſion will, too evidently, prove, that war, and ſuperſtition, have always been the greateſt obſtacles to the happineſs of nations.

It follows alſo, from what we have advanced, that if a nation exiſted, which, without being poor, produced no *net revenue*, ſuch a nation would be the happieſt in the world: its individuals would employ all their leiſure time in continually adding to their proſperity. But I ſhall be aſked, how this nation could be thus happy, if it employed in labour the greateſt part of its leiſure time: to this I anſwer, that there are particular kinds of labour which add to our welfare: for inſtance, had men no cloathing, did they repoſe in the open air, they would be very happy by employing a part of their time, in building of houſes, and making of habits:

or in other words, it would be extremely fortunate for the taylors that there were maſons, and for the maſons that there were taylors. In like manner, the individuals, whoſe only food had been bread, whoſe only liquor had been water, might rejoice over their increaſe of labour, if it furniſhed them with the hopes of, one day, eating meat, and drinking wine.

Theſe principles are ſo true, that, were we to read hiſtory attentively, we ſhould be perpetually induced to apply them. We ſhall perceive that, previous to the knowledge of the arts of procuring conveniencies, which declaimers call, the arts of luxury, in the times, when unpoliſhed, or (if it be a more proper phraſe) frugal nations, covered with only a ſimple cloak, ſubſiſted on milk, barley, and lupines :*(k)* at this period, I ſay, we

(k) A ſpecies of common bean, much in uſe, amongſt the ancients.

Protogenes, drawing the picture of Jalyſus, is ſaid to have taken no other nouriſhment than this pulſe, mixed with water, leſt the fire of his imagination, might be damped by the luxury of his food. The truth of this account is immaterial, but the leſſon of tem-

we ſhall perceive, that when population was ſenſibly increaſed, the only remedy known, and in uſe, was the drawing of lots to determine which of the individuals ſhould go and ſeek his livelihood elſewhere.*(l)* In fact, how could this ſuperabundant population, theſe new ramifications of families, induce the firſt proprietaries of lands to redouble their labour towards furniſhing the means of their ſubſiſtance? It is certain that this could not have happened, unleſs theſe individuals laboured, on their parts, in works capable of exciting the inclinations of the firſt inhabitants.

This, I believe, is the earlieſt origin of colonies. Let us preſent to our imagination an unpoliſhed people, conſiſting of ten thouſand

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temperance, which it contains, is not unworthy of the painters notice: without ſome exerciſe of this uncommon vertue, even the hand of Reynolds might err, and all the glowing expreſſion of Weſt, become lifeleſs, and inſipid. K.

(l) This policy was very oppoſite to the policy of Sir William Petty, who wiſhed that, for the advantage of Britain, the inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland might be tranſported into England; and that, after this, theſe two kingdoms might be ſwallowed up by an inundation.

ſand individuals, who, without any great effort of either care, or labour, cultivate the ground which extends over their domain. Let us ſuppoſe, farther, that, inſtead of an increaſe in the population, at the rate of five thouſand ſouls, the ſame number of artiſans ſhould land, at once, in this country, and, ſeverally, propoſe to furniſh habits, ſhoes, wine, and various utenſils, in exchange for a certain quantity of productions cultivated by the firſt coloniſts: can it be doubted that theſe individuals, excited by the deſire of obtaining the conveniencies of life, would redouble their labour to augment their harveſts, and, of courſe, the means of exchange? thus, the enjoyment of one convenience would lead to the acquiſition of another; new deſires would follow cloſe upon the laſt; and the original ſimplicity of dreſs, would, at length, break out into an attire as full of ornaments, as the wardrobe of a theatre.

Such would have been the progreſs of our commerce with America, if, inſtead of deſtroying the unfortunate inhabitants of that extenſive country, we had been ſatisfied with civilizing their manners. To theſe reflections, we may add the obſervation, that more colonies

lonies might have been founded by republics, than by monarchies. A ſovereign will never be at a loſs to find objects of labour, ſufficient to employ the whole flower of his people: whereas republics neither erect pyramids, nor plume themſelves on having planted trees on eminencies that touch the clouds. It even ſeldom happens that they carry on thoſe uſeful, but expenſive works, the accompliſhment of which, muſt be the joint reſult of power, and unanimity. Had Rome been free at that period when ſhe counted fourſcore thouſand inhabitants, ſhe might, perhaps, have founded a colony, inſtead of building the famous aqueduct, celebrated by the name, "Cloaca magna." It is certain that Tarquin could not have executed ſo great an undertaking, unleſs he had compelled that claſs of citizens, reſerved for the employments of Agriculture and trade, to work ſo much more than they would have done, if all the individuals engaged in this enterprize had been diſperſed amongſt the artiſans and the huſbandmen. *(m)*

Let

(m) It hath been a matter of aſtoniſhment to many that Rome, at that æra, not only in her infant ſtate, but

Let us, therefore, conclude this digreſſion, which is already much too long, by obſerving the impoſſibility of eſtimating the happineſs of the people, in the firſt ages of antiquity, by either the frugality of ſome, or the extravagance of others. Their vertue can no more be proved from the great ſimplicity of their

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but engaged in war, could have conſtructed, in ſo ſhort a time, this immenſe aqueduct. I have been equally ſurprized at it; but we may eaſily reſolve this problem, on our own principles. According to Livy, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, the inhabitants of Rome, during the reign of Tarquin, were, in number, eighty thouſand. Recollect the ſimplicity, and frugality of the ancient Romans, and, then, calculate the number of days in the year, or hours in the day, which an individual was obliged to employ for his own particular uſes. Another method may be, to examine how ſmall a number of individuals was needful to provide for the neceſſities of the reſt. A paſſage from Dionyſius is a ſtill ſtronger confirmation of this opinion. Romulus, having conquered the Antemnates, and the Ceninians, ſent three thouſand to Rome, and thought it ſufficient to replace this number with ſix hundred men. Hence, it appears that ſix hundred men could cultivate as great a quantity of land, as might be requiſite to furniſh a ſubſiſtance for three thouſand. In the colony of Cayenne, the Negroes do not board with their maſters: theſe laſt permit them to employ every Saturday in the fortnight, in the cultivation of thoſe fields from whence they derive their food.

their manners, than their felicity from the profuſion of their mignificence. Through every period, ignorance, deſpotiſm, war, and ſuperſtition, have, by turns, plundered mankind of the advantages with which nature had preſented them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

On the middle æra of antiquity, and, principally, the Grecian æra.

THE ſubject of this chapter might induce me to lead off, with Milton, and hail the light which I, at length, diſcover, after having wandered ſo long in darkneſs.*(n)* If I muſt, ſtill, call in hiſtory to my aſſiſtance; if it be expected that I ſhould continue to produce a relation of paſt events, in ſupport of the principles which I have eſtabliſhed, it will not be neceſſary to conſult either the childiſh ſtories of Herodotus, or the fabulous traditions

(n) "Hail, holy light! offspring of heaven, &c." Paradiſe loſt, book 3.

traditions of the poets. I am now armed with the authority of the moſt reſpectable authors. I can cite thoſe celebrated writers to whom the preſent refined age looks up as models. Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus, and Pauſanias, at once enlightening each other, have ſufficiently paved the way to the diſcovery of truth. It is now certain that, whatſoever variations of patriotic zeal, a ſuperſtitious imagination, and, perhaps, too poſitive a ſtile, might have infuſed into their writings, the characters of Darius, Xerxes, Themiſtocles, and Ariſtides, will deſcend to poſterity, as accurately marked, and as eaſily diſtinguiſhable, as the characters of Charles the Fifth, Guſtavus, De Witt, and Barnevelt. As ſoon as we approach the Median war, but more particularly, the war of Peloponneſus, the veil of antiquity ſeems to withdraw itſelf, and the light of hiſtory beams, all at once, over the paſt ages. At the very name of Greece, enthuſiaſm becomes awake, and preſents to our ideas a picture of vertue, courage, diſintereſtedneſs, and auſterity of manners, united with perfection throughout the arts; all the delicacy of taſte, and all the refinements of pleaſure: ſo capable is admiration of joining

ing ſuch oppoſite extremes! As for us, having propoſed to ourſelves, when we undertook this work, no other object but the welfare of humanity, we ſhall reſt contented with referring all to this ſingle conſideration: it is on this, only, that we ſhall ground our commendations, and our cenſures.

Some citizens are aſſociated, in deference to the advice of a brave and enterprizing man.(o) Shortly afterwards magnificent buildings ariſe, the ſeas are covered with innumerable fleets, and the great King is inſulted, attacked, and repulſed. Many rich and flouriſhing iſlands, together with a very conſiderable extent of coaſts, are made tributary: Athens, the amiable, the ſplendid Athens, riſes upon the ruins of barbariſm, and its formidable ramparts ſeem only deſtined to afford a ſanctuary to genius and the arts.

On the other ſide, an individual, whoſe ardour was vehement, whoſe diſcernment was profound, and, whoſe diſpoſition was auſtere, conceives a project to reform the government of his country. Animated with a ſpirit

(o) This was Theſeus, who, firſt, aſſembled at Athens, the people before diſperſed through Attica.

a ſpirit of patriotiſm, he contrives and executes the extraordinary plan of immortalizing this enthuſiaſm, by perpetuating it, from race to race. The haughty Sparta erects her brazen front againſt all Greece, and takes up arms, with a determination to quit them no more.

What memorable exploits have ſignalized the infancy of theſe republics! Marathon, Platea, Salamina, and the Micelæ, announced their future grandeur. In vain, did ſeventeen hundred thouſand men land in Greece: there remain two cities: but what do I ſay? there remains only one: for Athens is annihilated, or exiſts but on the waves. Xerxes is, notwithſtanding, put to flight, and purſued even to another continent.

What valuable and ſacred bonds muſt have united theſe republics, which had been equal ſharers in enterprizes ſo glorious! Tyranny muſt diſappear from every quarter; an inviolable aſſociation muſt connect all the members of Greece, to theſe two revered heads, and peace muſt flouriſh amidſt the defenders of liberty.

It is, here, that we are obliged to change our language, and caſt a ſecond glance upon

the ſame objects. Shall we not, on a cloſer examination, perceive in the republic of Athens, an ill-diſpoſed populace, vain, frivolous, ambitious, jealous, intereſted, incapable of marking out a proper conduct for themſelves, and grudging their chiefs that fortune which they ſhared with them: full of ſagacity in their diſcuſſions, but deprived of it, when it is neceſſary to determine: bigotted to an idle eloquence, always ready to abandon the depths of argument, for empty forms, and give the ſound of words a preference to reaſon: unjuſt to their allies, ungrateful to their chiefs, and cruel to their enemies? . . . On the other ſide, if we turn our examination upon the Spartans, and ſcrutinize them more attentively, inſtead of perceiving the celebrated maſterpiece of morality, and politics, we ſhall be at a loſs how to deſcribe them. Are they a nation? yet they cultivate no land; they deſpiſe its produce, and claim a merit from diſpenſing with it, as much as poſſible. Are they a ſociety? yet the ties of families, of marriage, of parentage, of love, and of friendſhip are entirely unknown to them. The bonds which join the women to their huſbands, are precarious, and

and uncertain: the children do not belong to their own fathers: nature is ſentenced to be ſilent. Only one imperious voice is heard. The *country* expects, claims, and poſſeſſes every thing; and yet it neither gives, nor offers, nor promiſes any thing. What then is Sparta? an army always under arms; if it be not, rather, one vaſt monaſtery. In fact, when we obſerve, on the one hand, their continual exerciſes, their mock fights, and their abſolute renunciation of arts, agriculture, and commerce; and, on the other hand, their ſevere diſciplines, their macerations, their refectories, and their public ceremonies, we ſhall be inclined to ſuppoſe ourſelves, at one moment, in the fortreſs of of Spandaw, and at another, in the convents of the Camaldulians.(p) What heart, unleſs

(p) The Camaldulians form a religious order, inſtituted by St. Romauld, and take their name from a ſmall plain, called Camaldali, on the mount Apennine, in the ſtate of Florence. At firſt, the cells of theſe devotees were ſeparate, nor did they ever meet but at the hour of public prayer. They, annually, obſerved an inviolable ſilence, either during Lent, or the ſpace of one hundred days. Twice only in the week, they quitted their fare of bread and water, to feaſt on herbs. Their

leſs it were defended by the three-fold ſhield of erudition, but would ſhudder with as much terror, at the recital of the Lacedemonian manners, as at that of the ſeverities, practiſed by the Fakirs,(q) and Jammaboes?(r) Already,

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Their auſterities have been lately mitigated by new regulations, and as this hermitage is now becoming rich, perhaps its inhabitants may ſoften, by degrees, into ſomething like men of the world. The founders of theſe ſects were equally ignorant of human nature, and its all-bounteous Lord. Whatever ſuperſtition, and the extravagancies of religion may advance, it is certain that the creature, who flies without reluctance from ſociety, is more than contemptible; and it is probable, that to the Creator, the rational enjoyment of every thing which he hath given us, is not the leaſt acceptable act of thankſgiving. K.

(q) The mortifications of theſe oriental Monks exceed all belief. Some cut their bodies with knives; others remain, a whole life-time, in one poſture. It hath been ſaid that the number of Fakirs in India, amounts to more than two millions. K.

(r) "The Jammaboes are Japoneſe hermits, divided into two orders; the order of Toſanfa, and the order of Fonſanfa. The Jammaboes of the firſt order are obliged to climb up the dangerous ſides of the mountain Fikooſan, once, in the courſe of each year. It is ridiculouſly, and perhaps artfully aſſerted, that ſuch as aſcend it, in a ſtate of impurity, are ſeized with madneſs. The Jammaboes of the ſecond order, have, alſo, their mountain, to whoſe top they muſt, annually clamber;

Already, I ſeem to hear many voices raiſed againſt me, and oppoſing to my obſervations, the power, and the duration of this republic. They dwell, alſo, on the circumſtances of its having triumphed, firſt, over the Perſians, and afterwards, over all the Greeks. It is true, that they do not inform me, that the Athenians alone decided the ſucceſs of the Median war, by the victory at Marathon,(s) a victory, of which a vain pretext, extremely ſuſpicious on a ſimilar occaſion, deprived the Lacedemonians. They do not add, that they were, by turns, vanquiſhed by all the people of Greece; and even by thoſe the leaſt celebrated; to begin, for inſtance, with the

clamber; and here too, the raſh adventurer muſt expect to be daſhed to pieces, if not free from all contamination. Their food conſiſts of herbs, and water; they practiſe the moſt ſevere auſterities, and impudently boaſt that they are great adepts in magic: the multitude, too ſtupid to detect the tricks of theſe religious juglers, have contributed not a little to ſupport their pretenſions, to the power of working miracles." K.

(s) It may be objected that this victory was no interruption to the ſecond expedition of the Perſians: but would the Greeks have gained the battle of Platæa, if they had not felt that confidence which their firſt ſucceſs inſpired?

Meſſinians, and end with the Thebans.(t) They are cautious of confeſſing, that it was with the ſuccours and the treaſure of the Perſians, that they accompliſhed the conqueſt of the Athenians, their ancient allies. But when it ſhall have been proved, that Sparta was indebted to its conſtitution alone, for all its ſplendor, and length of exiſtence, will it follow

(t) The war waged by the Lacedemonians, againſt the Ilotes, and the Meſſinians laſted more than ten years, with equal advantages to each party. Nevertheleſs, the Meſſinians were not Monks of the reformed order of Lycurgus. Thucydides (b. 1.) relates that the Ilotes having fled to Ithomus, the Lacedemonians were compelled to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of the Athenians before they could take this place. In the famous war of Peloponneſus, the Spartans were defeated at the ſame time, on land, and at ſea, by Alcibiades. On another occaſion, forty-ſeven of their gallies were at firſt compelled to ſheer off, and afterwards diſperſed by Phormio, the Athenian, who commanded only twenty gallies. In like manner, Thraſibulus overcame Callicratidas who commanded the Spartan fleet. No one is ignorant of their total defeat at Leuctra, and Mantinea; and that if Epaminondas had ſurvived his laſt victory, Sparta had been ruined. Do they who magnify ſo greatly the advantages which the Spartans gained over the Athenians, towards the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, recollect, that in the

follow that ſuch a conſtitution could have merited the approbation of an enlightened and philoſophical age? if it hath not rendered men either more vertuous, or (what is much the ſame) more happy: if it hath not confirmed the felicity, either of Sparta herſelf,

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the courſe of this war, the former adopted the humiliating expedient of ſending embaſſadors to the latter to ſue for peace. And that even one of theſe embaſſadors had the meanneſs to confeſs, that nothing but a ſubſidy from the king of Perſia, enabled his countrymen to carry on the war. (See Diod. Sic.) It evidently appears, that the ſucceſs of Sparta, in the war of Peloponneſus, may be attributed to theſe three cauſes: the plague at Athens, the expedition to Sicily, and the aſſiſtance of the Perſians. Now I ſee no affinity between theſe three cauſes, and the refectories of Lycurgus. The injuſtice which reigned in the policy of Sparta, was a circumſtance ſo well known amongſt the Greeks, that Polybius, endeavouring to paint the Etolians in the moſt odious light, as guilty of infractions in their treaties, compares them to the Lacedemonians; he quotes, on this occaſion, two incidents, by which they may be better known. Phebidas (ſays he) having made his entry, treacherouſly, into the city of Thebes, and become poſſeſſed of it, the Lacedemonions puniſhed the author of the conſpiracy, but left a garriſon in the place. After having proclaimed that they reſtored all the Grecian cities to their liberty, they appointed over them, every one of the governors whom they had before ſettled, there.

ſelf, or of her neighbours, ſhall we be ſtill ſo blind as to laviſh upon it ſuch enthuſiaſtic admiration, and that on the mere credit of Xenophon and Plutarch? If it be alledged that the Spartans were happy, in ſpite of their poverty, and ſeverity of manners, it may be anſwered, that the inclination which the greater part of their magiſtrates felt, to poſſeſs riches, and honours, is a proof that they only deſpiſed them, in proportion to their being ignorant of them. Obſerve a Pauſanias(*u*) ſelling his country to the tyrant, over

(*u*) The preſents, and the promiſes of the king of *Perſia* were irreſiſtable temptations to Pauſanias, already diſguſted at the behaviour of the allies. Not ſatisfied with having betrayed the *Lacedemonian* intereſts, he aſpired to the ſovereignty of *Greece*. The *Ephori*, jealous of his ambitious projects, recalled him. Convincing proofs were as yet wanting againſt a man, whoſe conduct was violently tainted by the breath of ſuſpicion. At length, the *Spartans* were relieved from this ſuſpence, by the evidence of a ſlave, who produced a letter which he had received from *Pauſanias*, with orders to deliver it to *Artabazes*. The criminal, thus detected, took refuge in the temple of *Minerva*. The door was blocked up, whilſt his mother, a female *Brutus*, aſſiſted in the puniſhment of an unworthy ſon, and brought the firſt ſtone, to prevent his flight: in this confinement, Pauſanias was ſtarved to death. K.

over whom he had lately triumphed; and ſelling it, even in the very moment, when he was intoxicated with ſucceſs at Platea. Behold a Lyſander bargaining with the governors of the Perſian provinces, for the fate of Sparta, and of Athens: a Gylippus,(x) who robs his general, and, at once, reveals to his countrymen, the treaſure and the theft. Such were theſe citizens; at home, humble and ſubmiſſive; abroad, arrogant, ambitious and tyrannical; in theſe reſpects, like bold, intriguing monks, who, after having overthrown provinces, and even whole ſtates, perceive themſelves compelled to retire again within their cloiſters, where, in ſilent indignation, they bend beneath the laws of obedience and auſterity.

What

(x) *Lyſander*, who had received preſents, in return for promiſes, which he never intended to perform, entruſted to *Gylippus*, the care of conveying to *Sparta*, the treaſures which had been collected, during the campaign, and which amounted to fifteen hundred talents, excluſive of the crowns of gold, given by the different cities. Gylippus unripped the ſacks, at the bottom, ſtole three hundred talents, and then, having very dexterouſly ſown up the openings, concluded that it muſt be difficult to detect him; he was miſtaken: the written accounts of the encloſed money were concealed within each ſack, and betrayed his treachery. To avoid death, he fled into exile. K.

What hath been already advanced, may ſerve to aſcertain the vertue of the Lacedemonians. On this occaſion, one might ſafely appeal to their admirers, who have never yet been able to diſguiſe from us, that inhumanity ſo conſpicuous and univerſal amongſt this people, and of which no other country furniſhed an example.

We wiſh that it were poſſible to conceal the exiſtence of a government, ſo ferocious, as to have judged it proper to have treated men, as they would have treated ſavage animals, whom it might be neceſſary to deſtroy, as often as they multiplied too faſt. As we practice the hunting of ſtags, and wild boars, ſo, the Spartans ſent their young men to the chace of the Ilotes. When theſe unfortunate wretches became ſufficiently numerous to give uneaſineſs to their maſters, all kinds of ambuſcades were placed to enſnare them; their aſſailants concealed themſelves, at one time, behind the thickets, and at another time, taking the advantage of the night, they traverſed the country, and murdered every individual whom they met, incapable of defending himſelf. What renders this cuſtom ſtill more horrid, is, that it was

not

not the mere reſult of an act of momentary fury, but of formal habit, and bore the name of "*Kruptia*" from the Greek word Κρυπτω, to hide ones ſelf. At the relation of ſuch ſhocking circumſtances, the pen drops from my hand; but my indignation is leſs directed againſt the Spartans, than againſt thoſe authors who have, coldly, tranſmitted to us, the detail of theſe execrable facts, and, complaiſantly, expatiated on the praiſes of the barbarous people, who committed them. Hence, I have been induced to think that hiſtory, thus written, may become too dangerous to be peruſed by youth, in general, and by young princes, in particular. It ſeems a kind of high treaſon againſt humanity, to mention ſuch atrocious facts, without invoking poſterity to turn from them, with horror.

After ſuch inſtances, it would be needleſs to dwell upon the baſe, and groundleſs jealouſy, which, towards the cloſe of the Median war, provoked the Spartans to hinder the Athenians from building their walls; or to relate the ſnares prepared for the immortal Themiſtocles; the maſſacre of the Athenian Greeks, or the allies of Athens, at the opening

ing of the Peloponneſian war; and their adviſing the people of Syracuſe to put to the ſword all that Athenian army, which had been forced to ſurrender themſelves priſoners.

Such was the virtue of Sparta; and ſuch was the morality of that republic, which became an example to Greece, and which hath been ſo often propoſed as an example to our corrupted ages. O philoſophy! O reaſon! O humanity! ſhall the man of learning, and the politician, at no period, be introduced to your acquaintance?

It were to be wiſhed, at leaſt, that the conduct of the other Grecians, had been contraſted with the conduct of the Lacedemonians: but it cannot be denied that humanity was a vertue to which theſe people, in general, were ſtrangers. In vain did learning, and the arts arrive to fix their abode at Athens. The decrees iſſued againſt Mitylene, and the inhabitants of Sicyon, are ſuch monuments of cruelty, as ſufficiently prove the ſuperiority of our modern philoſophy, over that which could accomodate itſelf to ſuch abominations. It is beyond diſpute that their articles of war permitted the putting of priſoners to death. The Corynthians, the Corcyrians, and the other

other people of Greece, to be leſs celebrated, were not leſs cruel than the Spartans, and Athenians.(y) In ſhort, we are obliged to confeſs that what is called the fine age of Greece, was a ſcene of torture, and puniſhment, inflicted on humanity.

Let us, now, haſten to obviate the diſagreeable concluſions, which may be drawn from ſuch a confeſſion. Is it poſſible, then, (it will be ſaid) that this æra, enlarged on with ſuch expreſſions of horror, can be any other, than the æra of the fine arts, and polite literature?(z) If, as the human underſtanding became enlightened, the depravity of the heart increaſed, what hope have we from

(y) At the beginning of the war of Epidaurus, the Corcyrians, after an advantage gained over their allies, the Corynthians, put all ſuch priſoners, as had not been born in Greece, to the ſword.

(z) I have been ſo unfaſhionable as to reject the expreſſion "belles lettres" which hath been naturalized in our tongue as early as in the time of Addiſon, if not earlier. *The exactneſs of the other, is to admit of ſomething like diſcourſe, eſpecially in what regards the belles lettres. .... Tatler.* Perhaps, I have not rendered the original into a term equally ſignificant, but I ſee, with indignation our excellent language, too often deviating towards a Gallic phraſeology, and that I might avoid it, have uſed every freedom of conſtruction allowable in the fidelity of tranſlation. K.

from the preſent and the future ages? what relation then doth the progreſs of the mind, bear to the augmentation of public happineſs?

Here, a croud of anſwers pour in, at once, upon me: I am puzzled, either how to chuſe, or in what manner to digeſt them. Let me, however, begin by aſſerting that the human underſtanding proceeds at a ſlow, and gradual pace. Its infancy is employed in the cultivation of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, which we may call the agreeable arts; and in the ſtudy, and profeſſion of poetry, and muſic, which we may ſtile an exertion of frivolous talents. A taſte for diſcuſſion follows at ſome diſtance, and is attended by a ſubtilty of reaſoning, a ſpirit of controverſy, and a Logomachia;*(a)* till, all opinions becoming equally falſe, and equally ſpecious, reaſon, fatigued with floating in uncertainty, embraces the ſide of doubt, and ex-

(a) Theſe dialectical ſubtilties are, facetiouſly, ridiculed by Lucian, who, after having obſerved that the Sophiſts ſupported their opinions ſo well, that they were perpetually crying out either yes, or no, as they affirmed, or denied, adds that they may be compared to ſleepers, in a carriage, whoſe wavering heads ſeem, by turns, to nod in contradiction, and with aſſent.

experiment, and thus forms, by little, and little, the true, and (if one may ſo call it) the laſt philoſophy.

I, now, apply this principle, and examine what progreſs philoſophy, and politics have made amongſt the Greeks. A judgement may be formed of philoſophy, by adopting two methods: the firſt method is to examine it, as in itſelf; and the ſecond method is to obſerve the alterations which it hath produced in the manners of the people.

It is well known that, before the time of Socrates, philoſophy had abſolutely neglected morality, to indulge itſelf in the empty ſyſtems of coſmogony, and theogony;(b) (c) and

(b) Socrates boaſted of having occaſioned philoſophy to deſcend from Heaven, where ſhe had been confined, and give him her hand that he might lead her back to earth. It muſt be confeſſed, that, then at leaſt, ſhe ſat out upon an idle journey. She might, certainly, have been more uſeful, not only when ſituated in Heaven, where ſhe might have diſcovered the planetary ſyſtem; but when above the ſurface of the earth, where, by dint of obſervation, ſhe might doubtleſs, have acquired a knowledge of ſome phyſical truths, more uſeful to men, than all the morality of Plato: and, here, it may be remarked, that more errors than might be, at firſt, ſuſpected, derived their ſource

and that, even, when the ſcholaſtic taſte was veering round to the ſtudy of morality, this ſcience ſtill retained much of its predominant ſpirit, nor ever became fixed upon a ſolid baſis. But were we to judge of cauſes, by their effects, could we ſtile that people philoſophical, whoſe individuals were addicted to the moſt extravagant ſuperſtition;*(d)* who were not cruel

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ſource from an ignorance of phyſics; and that it is impoſſible but that, in the long run, a good phyſical ſyſtem muſt introduce a good philoſophical ſyſtem.

(c) The Greeks were engaged in ſeveral wars, on a religious account, before the war of Peloponneſus. One of theſe wars, and the Perſian war, undertaken by Philip of Macedon, pointed to much the ſame objects.

(d) It is exceedingly ridiculous to obſerve Sparta, and Athens, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, ready to conteſt, even with violence, for the firſt rank, and the government of Greece, and opening their debates with mutual, and childiſh reproaches, on account of pretended acts of profanation. Eſchines, in his harangue againſt Cteſipho, relates, alſo, that, in the time of Solon, the Acrogallides, and the Syrians, having profaned the Delphic temple, the oracle directed that a war ſhould be waged againſt theſe people, that they ſhould be reduced to ſlavery; and that their lands ſhould be conſecrated to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: by the advice of Solon, all this was executed.

cruel to their enemies, alone, but ſtill more ſo to thoſe whom fortune had thrown within their power; and who, inſenſible to the benefits of nature, and all their proper uſes, placed their whole happineſs in glory, and their whole glory in war? no, if wiſdom be the art of living in felicity; and if (as its name imports) philoſophy be, truly, the love of wiſdom, then, the Greeks never were philoſophers.

Nothing, now, remains but the ſcience of politics: to ſtrip theſe celebrated republicans of their pretenſions to this ſcience, doth not, at the firſt glance, appear an eaſy taſk. Yet, even under the poſſibility of being accuſed of having riſqued a raſh opinion, we ſhall not ſcruple to advance, that their knowledge of politics was exceedingly imperfect, and much like that which they had formed of morality, and philoſophy. It will not be difficult to prove this, whether we conſider their ſyſtem of politics, in its general relation to the nations amongſt themſelves, or in its more diſtinct relation to the particular government of each people. The firſt point of view preſents to us, the Greeks, raſh, and inconſiderate; relinquiſhing the project of a neceſſary confederacy, almoſt as ſoon as they had form-

ed it; eſtabliſhing a ſpirit of tyranny, and uſurpation, in the two chief republics, without fixing any equal balance of power, in the reſt: Sparta, and Athens, ambitious without principle, confining all their politics, the one, within the forcible eſtabliſhment of an Oligarchy,(e) and the other, within a no leſs violently conducted introduction of Democracy; the firſt, in ſhort, ſo forgetful of juſtice, and her real intereſts, as to have recourſe to the king of Perſia, and, thus, avail herſelf of an enemy to injure her allies. If we, next, examine that interior ſyſtem of politics, which determines on the form of the go-

(e) Sparta not contented with having eſtabliſhed Oligarchy, in preference to Democracy, hath incurred the indelible, and infamous reproach, entailed on all advocates for tyranny. Witneſs the thirty tyrants of Athens, and the protection which ſhe granted to Dionyſius the tyrant againſt the people of Syracuſe. It muſt be added that we are far from being the ſole accuſers of this republick, for having promulgated the firſt principles of a policy ſo pernicious to humanity. Salluſt hath long ſince given us the example. "Poſtea vero quam, in Aſiâ Cyrus, in Græciâ Lacedemonii, atque Athenienſes cœpere urbes atque nationes ſubigere, libidinem dominandi cauſam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, &c.... in Catil.

government, we ſhall perceive that, here, as in all other things, the Greeks manifeſted a greater ſhare of ſpirit, than reaſon. And yet, whatever liberties we may have taken with the Spartans, we cannot, poſſibly, pronounce the name of Lycurgus, without offering a tribute of admiration to the ſagacity of his mind, and the extent of his genius. It is not to be denied, but that his laws were conceived in an uncommon depth of thought, and that a very ſingular unity pervaded every part of his plan. But was his project a reaſonable project? I paſs over in ſilence, that particular idea of making, entirely, a people of ſoldiers, and I allow that the Spartans ſhould have been as regularly brought up to the profeſſion of arms, as Emilius, to that of a carpenter; but if, to fix the maintenance of liberty, defenſive wars, only, were undertaken, would it not have followed that ſooner, or later, having neither walls, nor ſtrong holds, they muſt have been as effectually ſubdued, as they concluded themſelves to be, after the battle of Leuctra? If their courage, and diſcipline enſured to them no deciſive advantages, there muſt have ariſen an abſolute certainty, that,

with the nature of their conqueſts, their ſpirit muſt have, alſo, varied; and that, by degrees, they muſt have aſſumed the manners, and the vices of the people, whom they had ſubdued?(f) might they not, alſo, have foreſeen, that, at ſome future period, the new improvements in the military art, would render money as neceſſary as valor towards the ſupport of war. Was it natural, in this caſe,

(f) I ſhall have more occaſions than one to remark, that, a ſtate of eaſe, and tranquility, a rich ſyſtem of agriculture, and an active induſtry, are the goals to which every ſtate directs its courſe: for this reaſon, I have ventured to compare the greater part of our legiſlators, to thoſe ſenſible perſons, who, having met a troop of men, upon the road, gave them the moſt excellent directions in what manner to conduct themſelves on their way; but as they had made no proviſions either againſt their arrival, or to accompliſh their eſtabliſhment, this multitude, having reached the end of their journey, perceive themſelves entirely diſconcerted, and equally unable either to fix their reſidence, or to return.

Such, perhaps, at preſent, is the fate of the Engliſh colonies. In this reſpect, Locke was the wiſeſt, and Lycurgus the moſt raſh of all the legiſlators. The former ſtipulated that his laws for the province of Penſylvania, ſhould only remain in force during one hundred years; and the latter is ſaid to have ſacrificed his life in the attempt to render his decrees immortal.

caſe, for Lycurgus to ſuppoſe that his republic ſhould receive their pay, as ſoldiers, from thoſe tyrants who were the enemies of Greece? In other reſpects, ſhould not the great difference between the ſeverity of the diſcipline at Sparta, and the eaſe enjoyed at the camp; the inſignificance of theſe kings, in times of peace, and their unlimited conſequence during the war, have operated as reaſons for involving the republic in difficult and dangerous battles, threatening to terminate in either their deſtruction, or their ſlavery? if it be objected to me, that the laws of Lycurgus preſerved their force, through a term of more than ſix hundred years, my reply is, that the neighbours of Sparta were for a very long ſpace of time, ill inſtructed, and badly governed; nor is this inſtance more ſingular than that inſtance ſo evident amongſt the Iroquois, and ſeveral other American nations, who have long exiſted under the ſame laws. The really flouriſhing ſtate of Athens began not till after the cloſe of the Median war, and from this epoch, to the battle of Leuctra, little more than one hundred years are ſuppoſed to have elapſed. The Thebans, who imagined that,

by the ſucceſs of this action, they ſhould have deſtroyed the Spartans, to all intents, and purpoſes, had been diſtinguiſhed at the opening of the former wars of Greece, only, by the contempt which they had drawn upon themſelves, in the Median war. The battle of Mantinea, and the univerſal conqueſt of Greece, by Philip, and Alexander his ſucceſſor, may be comprized almoſt within the ſpace of twenty years; ſo that the event rather condemns, than juſtifies the conſtitution of the Lacedemonians: and here, indeed, the event fell, as it might have been expected to fall, on individuals whoſe conſtitution was calculated to ſtartle their nature, but not to convince their underſtanding.(*g*)

It is unneceſſary to take any great pains, to prove that the government of Athens was corrupt. Every one hath read the works of Demoſthenes, and Thucydides; two celebrated

(*g*) It may be proper to obſerve what Polybius (b. 6.) hath remarked concerning the republics of Sparta, and of Rome. He proves, that the laws of Lycurgus were but ill ſuited to the aggrandizement of the republic, however they might appear to tend, all, to that point; whereas the Romans might have encreaſed their grandeur, by adhering, merely, to the principles

brated Athenians, who have, with ſuch accuracy, tranſmitted to us a picture of the manners of their country, and who have equally, excelled; Demoſthenes by the force, and Thucydides by the truth of his colourings.

It appears, in general, that the government of Athens was never in any very great repute. What, in fact, ſignified the ſenate compoſed of four hundred perſons, and that mixture of Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, which eſtabliſhed diſtinctions in properties, without reducing them to the ſtandard of their influence over public affairs? for, in the laſt reſource, every thing was referred to a populace, whom they could aſſemble, and harangue without form, and without precaution.

There will be no occaſion to mention the other ſtates of Greece. It is ſufficient

principles of their conſtitution. Thus, only, can we judge of ancient governments: if, ſolely, their power, and not the happineſs of individuals, became the object of their views, they muſt be condemned, as often as they appear to have reſerved to themſelves, a principle, which contradicted the end, which they had intended to accompliſh.

to obſerve that their government was reduced either to a tyrannical oligarchy, or to a tumultuous democracy, each of which degenerated into two factions; the faction of the great, and the faction of the inferior ranks of people; the faction of the populace, and the faction of the opulent.

Were we not apprehenſive of anticipating the reflections which we muſt reſerve for the concluſion of the work, it would be no unpleaſing taſk, to reſt a little over the compariſon of modern republics, to the antient republics. What ſubjects, for admiration, ſhould we not diſcover in that wiſdom which preſides over the federal governments of Switzerland, and of Holland! how muſt we applaud their permanence, and, particularly, the heroiſm which founded them! an heroiſm, at once, calculated to excite intereſt, and admiration, ſince it nouriſhes, and protects the moſt natural ſentiments; the love of our properties, the deſire of living with our wives, of educating our children, of cultivating our fields, and of worſhipping our God with ſuch a mode of homage, as may be the moſt pleaſing, and the moſt ſuitable.

But

But the admirers of antiquity will ſay: We freely permit you to lead us, from argument to argument, until the Greeks ſhall have been ſtripped of thoſe two advantages, the poſſeſſion of which hath hitherto, particularly, redounded to their repuation: what ſophiſtry, however, can be ſufficiently ſpecious to perſuade us, that this people excelled not in poetry, eloquence, painting, and architecture? If you cannot deprive them of the credit of having enjoyed theſe accompliſhments, are you firmly rooted in the belief that they have not equally excelled in thoſe other particulars, a ſuppoſed defect in which hath drawn from you this thoughtleſs condemnation?

This argument would, doubtleſs, carry ſome weight with it, were it to be judged of, only, at firſt ſight: but it will fall, at once, on the aſſignment of the reaſon, why the perfection of the fine arts ought to have preceded, at a conſiderable diſtance, the accompliſhments of the rational ſciences. This object might, of itſelf, furniſh matter ſufficient for a diſſertation, but, in this place, it is only neceſſary to obſerve; firſt, that the leſs inſtructed the people are, the more

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the imagination is liable to become poetical; and that, probably, a multitude of barbarous nations have only wanted a fine language, and more celebrity, to have been capable of tranſmitting to us, poetical compoſitions, like thoſe of the Greeks: witneſs the poems in the Erſe language,(*b*) thoſe of the Scandinavians, &c. Secondly that it is exceedingly natural that eloquence ſhould flouriſh in the midſt of a people governed by orators. In fact, this art was ſo dependant on the particular nature of the government, that it was driven forward to its perfection, at Athens, and abſolutely unknown at Sparta. Thirdly, that the exceſſive ſuperſtition of the Greeks, having induced them to build ſeveral temples, and to ſpare no expence in theſe particulars, the architecture of the outward

(*b*) Let the philoſophical literati ſolve this problem. Why do the poems in the Erſe language breathe the nobleſt, and ſublimeſt ſentiments; the ſentiments of love, glory, honour, a veneration of anceſtry, patriotiſm, &c. whereas the ſentiments ſcattered up, and down the Iliad, are baſe, and vile: ſuch, for inſtance, are, the deſire of plunder, the low ambition of enjoying the beſt ſhare at a feaſt, the exaſperated violence of paſſion, tranſporting itſelf into acts of barbarous, and cowardly revenge, &c?

ward decorations ought, in courſe, to have made a great progreſs amongſt them: I ſay, the architecture of the outward decorations, for it is not perceptible that they have approached to our modern architects, in the workmanſhip within, which is a proof that their progreſs, in architecture, was owing to their rage of raiſing temples. As to ſculpture, it is well known that the athletic exerciſes were, of themſelves, ſufficient to form able ſtatuaries. Men, deſtined to appear naked in public, could not avoid an attention to and practice of the fineſt poſtures; nor want the faculty of diſcerning when they were either more, or leſs graceful. In their public games, where wreſtling, the pugilatus, the pancratium, &c. (*i*) were performed, every attitude was to be ſtudied, and all the combinations of elegance, and ſtrength, particularly marked. What a ſchool was here for

(*i*) The pugilatus of the antients was frequently attended with conſequences more fatal, than the conſequences ariſing from the bruiſing matches, ſo peculiar to my fellow countrymen. The latter, contented with the exerciſe of the naked fiſt, have, in general, not only ſurvived the battle, but preſerved their features, and

for painters, and ſculptors! the moderns have only faces to inſpire art, and, I had almoſt added, ſentiments. Let us, alſo, ſee what has been done for them. What painters, what reſemblances in buſts, bracelets, ſnuff-boxes, &c! Imagine, then, what the Grecian ſculptors ought to have been; the ſculptors, for whom, the face was only a ſubordinate, and ſecondary object.

Now, let the reader paſs his judgment: convinced that we are, at once, incapable of admiring too warmly, or cenſuring too ſeverely, the productions of antiquity, we ſhall ſubmit to his deciſions, without reluctance.

The only favor which we would require at his hands, is, that he would not ſuppoſe theſe

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and their limbs. If the celebrated heroes, Slack and Broughton, had introduced the ceſtus, in their memorable conteſt, one combatant, at leaſt, and, probably, each of them, muſt have died a martyr to the innovation. When this formidable gauntlet was in uſe, the cloſing up an eye, or the breaking a jaw-bone were, only, calamities of courſe: if the Athletæ of old were neither killed at a blow, nor left dying on the ſand, it was eſteemed a ſingular inſtance of great ſkill, or greater good fortune. The pancratium was a medley of wreſtling, and boxing, in which every kind of attempt to get the better, was fair. K.

theſe reflections foreign to our undertaking; but recollect that as the progreſs of the human mind, in its relation to morality, and politics, was the object of our examination, the fixing our attention upon this celebrated people, became the more important, as it furniſhed us, at the firſt glance, with the following melancholy truth: that the progreſs of the human mind hath, in no ſhape, redounded to the advantage of the people. How very neceſſary was it, then, for us, who build all our hopes upon the advancement of reaſon, and philoſophy, to enter into an examination of thoſe facts, which ſeem ſo violently to oppoſe our principles?

We are not deſtitute of apprehenſions, when we reflect upon the manner in which we have ſpoken of the Greeks. Our fears not only forbode the diſpleaſure of ſome eminent literati, whoſe reſpect for antiquity may be unlimited; but the poſſibility of being taxed with having adopted that modern falſe glare of wit, to which, the cavils of criticiſm are better ſuited, than inſtruction. We can nevertheleſs, aſſert, that if letters and arts had been the only topics in queſtion, we ſhould have rendered ourſelves much more liable

liable to have been cenſured as enthuſiaſts, than as ſatyriſts. We are, in this place, impatient to declare what we may, perhaps, at ſome future time, have occaſion to repeat: and this is, that we cannot too much wonder at the falſe road (if the expreſſion be allowable) which we are, daily, purſuing in our ſtudies; quitting the path which would conduct us to the ſources of our knowledge, to tread on the path which directs us to a crowd of exceedingly imperfect imitators; the reader muſt perceive that the preference given to the Latin, in prejudice to the Grecian literature, is, here, alluded to. What time do we not employ in learning a mixed, and half barbarous language, inſtead of acquiring one ſo accurate, and ſo metaphyſical, that it may be conſidered as, of itſelf, an introduction to all the ſciences! how ſurprized muſt Cicero be (that Cicero, who not only proſecuted his ſtudies in Greece, but collected an immenſe library, conſiſting, entirely, of Greek books) were he to reviſit the world, and perceive our youths learning his mother tongue, in preference to the language of his tutors!

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The condition of humanity amongſt the Greeks; its ſituation in thoſe countries which were known during this ſecond epoch.

WERE we to confine our ſearch to ſuch objects, as might adminiſter comfort to humanity, in its depreſſed ſituation, our advances through the different periods of hiſtory, would prove uſeleſs. Far from perceiving mankind to be enlightened with ideas of their real intereſts, we obſerve an univerſal encreaſe of confuſion, and diſorder. Even Egypt, that happy, and renowned country, on which we have fixed our attention, with ſo much pleaſure, became ſubject to the laws of a ſtranger, and bore, with

Aſia,

Aſia, a ſhare in the misfortune of exiſting under the moſt cruel deſpotiſm. Greece ſeems to have been divided into ſo large a number of different ſtates, for no other reaſon, than that it might (if the expreſſion be allowable) ſtretch the ſurface of war, and calamity; for it is worthy of obſervation, that the diviſion of ſovereignties multiplies diſaſters through the land. We can, boldly, affirm that each of the little republics of Greece, underwent, during a period of fifty years, ſeveral revolutions to which one half of its citizens became the victims; that each, throughout the ſame ſpace of time, ſaw its territories ravaged by wars; in ſhort, that no individual of theſe unhappy towns had run the common courſe of life, without deteſting the hour, in which he had received it.(*k*)

I am not certain that ſufficient attention hath been paid to this vice, ſo inherent in little ſtates. Mr. Rouſſeau hath remarked, that

(*k*) Diodorus Siculus (b. 15.) mentions a revolution effected at Argos, in the hundred and ſecond olympiad, when, after ſeveral acts of barbarity, perpetrated by each party, the prevailing party ordered twelve hundred citizens to be led to execution.

that wherever the citizens become ſo numerous, as to render it neceſſary, that the government ſhould be lodged in a repreſentative body, there can exiſt no true liberty. (*l*) I am, nevertheleſs, of opinion, that there will be no ſubſtantial, and laſting liberty, and, in particular, no happineſs, but amongſt individuals, where every thing is tranſacted by a repreſentative body. Obſerve this little republic, where each citizen is, as it were, all, becauſe the ſtate is nothing; where, at one moment, he aſſumes the gown, and at another, his military armour: a ſhallow politician, an incapable judge, and an undiſciplined ſoldier; continually, either a prey to faction, or expoſed to the rage of war: where as an extenſive ſociety, in which every individual is united to each other, by the ſame intereſts, and the ſame laws, derives its peaceful ſituation from the prudent participation of its labours. In ſuch a ſociety, the ſoldier is not engaged in pleading the cauſe of the oppreſſed; nor is the magiſtrate employed in defending the ramparts. The labourer, unmoleſted, purſues the cultivation

(*l*) See the ſocial contract.

of his ground, whilſt the judge watches over the political welfare of the ſtate, and the warrior repels its invaders: and if the laſt appear to bear, entirely, the public burden, he is amply indemnified by ſalaries, and honours. In ſuch a ſociety, peace wears a hundred additional charms, and war throws off a hundred of its horrors. The extent of the domain, and the precautions taken to prevent all acceſs to it, like a centrifugal force, inceſſantly, drive back the war to the frontiers; and in the ſame manner, as the interior affairs are tranſacted by a repreſentative body, a ſimilar body is inveſted with the power of prolonging, or determining the operations of the war. At the opening of the Peloponneſian war, when Athens wanted to raiſe ſuch an army, as might withſtand the attacks of her enemies, the militia of the city was, of neceſſity, compoſed of old men, and boys. All the citizens, including thoſe, before, ſcattered up and down the lands of Attica, were compelled to confine themſelves within the town: and from this circumſtance aroſe that remarkable contagion, to which one half of the people fell a ſacrifice. Every place, then, may be ſaid

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to have felt, at once, the greateſt miſeries of war.... Whilſt France was engaged in the wars of 1733, 1741, and 1757, no more, at any time, than the hundredth part of her inhabitants, were ſharers in the danger. Extenſive provinces, ſtill, enjoyed the calmeſt ſerenity, and even millions of labourers, knew not in what part of the world the armies were engaged.

To theſe advantages, we may add that ſweetneſs of manners, and thoſe comforts of life, which the people can ſcarcely retain, but by the means of regular troops; that is to ſay, thoſe repreſentatives of the nation, who are intruſted with the care of conducting the war. If it be too truly proved, by the experience of all ages, that the greateſt misfortune which can happen to a people, is to be ſubdued, it is certain that an endeavour to acquire a ſuperiority over every neighbouring ſtate can not be too ſteadily purſued. It is no leſs evident that this point can never be attained to, but by a military education, ſo that every citizen, to be a ſoldier, during one ſingle day of his life, is obliged to embrace the profeſſion of arms, from his birth. Hence, aroſe the neceſſity of adopting, in

every age, military manners, alone. What muſt have been the deſtiny of men who paſſed their whole lives, as if every day had been the eve of a battle! the cuſtom of maintaining a ſtanding army, became the ſole remedy againſt this inconvenience. By the means of this arrangement, wherever it ſhall have become general, the people may be happy, without being ennervated, and ſoftened, becauſe a proper diſcipline is kept up in armies, where the principles of honour and courage may maintain themſelves, in a certain degree of accumulation, without which their vigour, and influence, would be but ſmall.*(m)*

We have already ſeen that deſpotiſm had not only driven happineſs from the boſom of Aſia, but expelled it from a part of Africa: Greece, during her moſt refined æra, was but a theatre of bloody revolutions. Hiſtory, then, preſents us with no more objects for our reflections, ſave the Phenicians, and the Carthaginians. The firſt have been little noticed, except in matters relating to their commerce, and their colonies. There is every appear-

(m) Majores noſtri bella geſſerunt, noſtributa dependimus, ne bella patiamur. PAUL. OROS. HIST.

appearance, to confirm us in the opinion, that this active people, equally engaged in the practice, and promotion of induſtry, conducted themſelves on principles, ſuperior to the principles of the Greeks: but their vicinity to the Perſians, whilſt it, continually, tied them down to an exceſſively great dependance, prevented them from giving any certain ſtability to their government.

Whatſoever commendations Ariſtotle may have laviſhed upon the laws of the Carthaginians, we cannot believe that a people, whoſe avarice was ſo inſatiable, whoſe ſyſtem of politics was ſo jealous, and ſo cruel, and whoſe religion was ſo ſuperſtitious, and atrocious, could poſſibly have known true happineſs. The imagination ſtarts back, with horror, from thoſe human ſacrifices, at the celebration of which, the barbarous mothers threw, with their own hands, their children into the flames. A philoſopher, one day, reading that paſſage in Geneſis, wherein it is written, "that God created man in his own image," immediately obſerved, that man had, with no ſparing hand, returned the image to God again..... A judgment may, generally, be formed of a people, by their

mode of worſhip: if it be ſimple and modeſt, then are they active, and induſtrious; if it be full of ſolemnity and pomp, then are they vain and frivolous; if it be melancholy and auſtere, then are they fierce, violent, and obſtinate.

We ſhall take no notice of the Scythians, the Indians, and the Chineſe, as we have no ground-work, but in conjectures, and fabulous relations. We are, only, ſenſible that the life which the Scythians led, bore a ſtriking reſemblance to the life of the ſavages. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Indians, with particular approbation, but as he adds the deſcription of an iſland, which never exiſted, and other circumſtances, of which, ſome are incredible, and ſome have been proved falſe, it is evident that, to make his hiſtory appear complete, he was not at all nice in the choice of thoſe materials, of which he has availed himſelf.

We muſt, therefore, be contented to conclude this chapter, with a reflection, which, though extremely natural, ſeems to have been overlooked by the partiſans of antiquity. It is, that ſlavery, alone, was ſufficient to render the condition of humanity, in general,

a hundred

a hundred times worſe, than it is at preſent. In fact, it would be but to little purpoſe to tell a philoſopher that, the thirty thouſand individuals, who ſhared a country (Laconia for inſtance) betwixt them, were very ſtrong, brave, fierce, and accuſtomed, during their lives, ſolely, to the exerciſe of arms, in battle; were this philoſopher to diſcover that, theſe thirty thouſand individuals had reduced more than ſix hundred thouſand of their fellow-creatures, to a condition, a hundred times worſe than the condition of beaſts of burden, he would turn his eyes aſide from this people and regard them, for the future, only, as the ſcourge, and diſgrace of humanity. I preſume that it is no exaggeration, to advance that, reckoning the towns and country, the proportion which the number of freemen might be ſuppoſed to bear to the number of ſlaves, may be fixed, in Greece, at ſomething leſs than the rate of one to four.*(n)* And what, for the moſt part, were theſe ſlaves? free men, educated in plenty, and proſperity, who, having been made pri-

(n) At the battle of Platæa, each Spartan was accompanied by ſeven of the Ilotes.

ſoners, either in battle, or by the Corſairs, were, at length, ſold for the benefit of the conquerors. Every one knows how far the rights of the maſter over his ſlaves extended. The proſtitution of the two ſexes was one conſequence of that power.(o) Let us, for a moment, imagine what muſt, in our days, be the condition either of an officer, or of a magiſtrate, who, reduced to the vileſt drudgeries, felt the moments of his labour doubly embittered, by perceiving his wife, and children, obliged to ſacrifice their perſons to the debaucheries of an inſolent maſter. It is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that a perſon could, now, be found, either brave enough, or baſe enough to ſupport himſelf under ſuch a fate. All this, however, frequently happened amongſt the antients, and, particularly, amongſt the Greeks. I muſt be permitted to urge the difference between ſlaves, bought from amongſt the individuals of ſome poor, and half ſavage nations, and thoſe whom the fortune of war had reduced to this ſhocking condition: and, with confuſion, let

(o) I cannot recollect the author who hath obſerved that "impudicitia in ingenuo crimen eſt, in ſervo neceſſitas, in liberto officium."

let it be admitted, that our age is not yet, totally, exempt from the reproaches, which we have thrown upon antiquity. Although we cannot ſufficiently lament that adherence to this practice, which avarice, ſtill, maintains amongſt the people of the Weſt, and which barbarity, and ignorance have eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt, yet we muſt obſerve; firſt, that ſlavery is no longer known, amongſt the Chriſtians, except it be in the colonies: ſecondly, that the ſlaves are all drawn from an extremely ſavage, and brutal nation, and that even the natives come to bargain with our traders, for the ſale of their own countrymen. Thirdly, that though reaſon and philoſophy proclaim the neceſſity of treating the ſlave, like an European, ("quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus eſſes") it is notwithſtanding true, that the great diſparity between theſe unhappy wretches, and ourſelves, is but little calculated to excite in us, the fine feelings of humanity, and ſerves to nouriſh thoſe cruel prejudices, which occaſion them to remain in a ſtate of oppreſſion. Fourthly, that if theſe ſlaves have been treated with a moſt inexcuſable barbarity, experience hath, yet, frequently,

proved

proved that no tenderneſs, no benefits could eraſe from the minds of theſe individuals, their baſe, ungrateful, and cruel characteriſtics: that there is every reaſon to believe that, if even the ſlaves belonging to the colonies, had been Europeans, they would, already, have intruded themſelves into the poſſeſſion of the rights of citizens, in like manner as the villains of our feodal government, recovered, by little and little, their civil liberty: in ſhort, that the number of ſlaves, in our time, is much leſs conſiderable, ſince it is limited to the ſugar colonies alone; and that amongſt more than a hundred millions of Chriſtians, exiſting at preſent, we cannot, aſſuredly, reckon a million of ſlaves; whereas, that, to a million of Greeks, there were more than three millions of theſe unfortunate human creatures.(p)

CHAP.

(p) If the reader be curious to know the ſentiments of the ancien s, reſpecting ſlavery, let him read the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth chapters of the politics of Ariſtotle. He will there find, that "ſervitude is both juſt, and unjuſt, that it is ſometimes natural, without being legal, and legal, without being natural; that it is the order of nature, that the leaſt perfect ſhould ſerve the moſt perfect; thus, the animals ſhould ſerve man; and women obey their huſbands: that in the caſe,

CHAP. V.

Reflections on the Romans.

IT is to be preſumed, that the reader, already informed of the object which we have in view, doth not expect to find in our reſearches, a ſcrupulous adherence to chronological order. Having been, once, introduced

caſe, where force alone, hath reduced the people to captivity, ſlavery is juſt, without being ſo, in an abſolute ſenſe, becauſe, although it be a ſuperiority of vertue, that confirms the authority, it is never in the order of nature, that noble people can be reduced to ſlavery: but that if there be noble nations, there are other nations on the contrary, ignoble; that amongſt the Barbarians, their nobles are only ſuch, as conſidered, relatively, with their fellow-citizens; whereas there are nations

duced amongſt the Greeks, it became impoſſible for us to take leave of them, till we had fixed an eager attention, on thoſe many wonderful particulars, which have attracted the admiration of every age, and whoſe real value, it was ſo neceſſary to eſtimate, we have ventured to declare, that what ſeemed fine, was not, on that account, always good; and, conſidering antiquity, as we have conſidered the characters exhibited upon its theatre,

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nations which are noble every where." Here is certainly enough to prove in what hands the ſacred rights of humanity were, formerly, depoſed. But a circumſtance ſtill more ridiculous, than barbarous, is, that Ariſtotle, propoſing to take a family, for the model of political ſocieties, diſcovers that this primitive family is, eſſentially, compoſed of three parts, the firſt of which includes the maſter, and the ſlave; as if nature had, in the beginning, formed two beings of different kinds, the one to be the maſter, and the other to be the ſlave. It is unneceſſary to add, that the other two integral parts of ſociety are, the huſband and the wife; and the father, and the children.

The fine, and benevolent ſentiment of Alcidamus, as preſerved in the Scholiaſt, upon the rhetoric of Ariſtotle, is a glorious contraſt to the latter part of the preceding quotation. Ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε πάντας θεός; οὐδένα δοῦλον ἡ φύσις πεποίηκεν. "God ſent all men forth free, nor hath nature made any individual a ſlave."

The

theatre, we have plucked the maſk from Agamemnon, to diſcover the ſlave, who repreſented a king of kings. We muſt, now, reſume our labour, and attempt a taſk at leaſt as difficult as the former.

Whilſt the Greeks were buſied in the improvement of their laws, the conſtruction of their temples, and the diſcipline of their armies, Italy foſtered in her boſom a people deſtined to deſtroy her government, to pull down her buildings, and triumph over her troops.

The deſign of nature, and the will of its great author, have been ſo exceedingly perverted, that to ſuppoſe the world could, ever, enjoy a ſtate of univerſal freedom, might ſeem the wild ſuggeſtion of inſanity. Even the cultivation of our colonies, abroad, might have been conducted by the labour of ſervants, as free as the reſtraint of ſalutary laws could permit them to be; and perhaps, it would, on enquiry, be found, that, however impolitic a general enfranchiſement of the ſlaves, in our Eaſtern and Weſtern Indies, might prove, yet the neceſſity of a code of laws, to reſtrain the barbarity of maſters, and overſeers, ſhould engage the attention of the Britiſh legiſlature. That it will, is exceedingly doubtful. It were natural to imagine that, whilſt the patriot, vehemently harangues the ſenate, in favour of the liberty of an Engliſhman, he would wiſh to extend that liberty, if poſſible, to all his diſtant dependants: but the living, and the dead, have furniſhed us with contrary inſtances. K.

troops. As Demoſthenes, his ambition ſtruggling againſt his nature, diſdained to mount the roſtrum, until a long and indefatigable practice had convinced him, that his oratory muſt prove ſucceſsful; ſo Rome, whoſe origin was barbarous, whoſe beginning was abject, and whoſe progreſs was ſlow, was employed, during four whole ages, in learning the art of conquering, and of governing. Surely, no ſtudy hath a ſtronger claim to the attention of the philoſopher, than that ſtudy which endeavours to inveſtigate the principles, which could raiſe a ſimple city, to ſuch a heighth; or, to ſpeak more properly, to that exceſs of glory, and proſperity: But known events are not, always, in proportion to known cauſes; and it frequently happens that political writers imitate the ancient aſtronomers, who, tolerably well, deſcribed, and even announced, the particular phænomena, but imputed them to abſurd cauſes. Yet, were it certain, that we had diſcovered the real ſources of the Roman grandeur, of what advantage could ſuch an acquiſition be to us, who wiſh not to know in what manner a ſtate is aggrandized; but, merely, whether by being rendered great

great it is become more happy. Such a diſcovery would be, in our eyes, no better than a large, magnificent road, which could not conduct us to the place, whither we deſire to go.

If the Roman government can be ſaid to merit the approbation of poſterity, it is not, becauſe its individuals, confined within the circumference of their city, either made a preparation to defend it, or formed their ſyſtems of civil policy: but it is, certainly, becauſe Rome, beginning to rule in Italy, at length reduced thoſe fine countries to a ſubmiſſion to her principles, and her diſcipline, at leaſt, if not to her laws: it is, becauſe, having extended her influence over all the Mediterranean, ſhe added Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain to her empire; and, chiefly, it is becauſe that in the moment, when ſhe became the miſtreſs of Africa, ſhe arrived at the privilege of giving laws to Aſia. Now, if, in theſe oſtentatious æras, mankind were more free, and unmoleſted; if tyranny was aboliſhed; if the rights of peace were more ſacred, and the laws of war more humane; if the fields were better cultivated, and if commerce multiplied the links, in the great

political

political chain, which united nations to each other; then, let us aſſent to the admiration of every paſt age, nor ceaſe to ſtudy the form of government, peculiar to a people, who, beginning to labour at the acquiſition of their own happineſs, perceived themſelves by the ſole perfection of their public adminiſtration, and the ſingle energy attached to their conſtitution, in a condition to preſcribe laws to barbariſm, to hold ambition in chains, and, in ſhort, to teach the reſt of the univerſe, to whom they had been, at once, the benefactors, and the models to aſpire to an aſſimilation with themſelves. But, if nothing like this hath happened; if the Romans, far from triumphing by the aſcendancy of their vertue, were indebted for their prevalence, ſolely, to crimes, and entirely eſtabliſhed themſelves upon the ruins of the world, who ſhall hinder us from loading them with cenſures, as ſevere as thoſe, which we have paſſed upon the Greeks; the Greeks, who were as brave, as heroic, and more amiable than the Romans?

Perhaps, we have, at length, found an opportunity of being reconciled even to the admirers of Greece; for the learned world is divided

divided into two parties, one of which conſiſts of advocates for the Greeks, and the other, of advocates for the Romans. It muſt, in general, be confeſſed that the opinion of theſe laſt appears to be the too haſty fruit of erudition, or rather, the firſt production of an imperfect ſtudy. The modern ages have been, indeed, ſufficiently ſingular, whilſt they contented themſelves with propoſing, as models, thoſe, who were, in every department, ſlow and feeble imitators; but, by an aſtoniſhing caprice, it hath fallen out, that the more profuſely Rome in her glory hath been loaden with eſteem, and veneration, the more have her encomiaſts been conſtrained to diſparage her original condition. Plutarch was the firſt writer, who maintained that the founders of this queen of the world, were only robbers, and outlaws. This idea hath been eagerly embraced by certain ſyſtematical literati, (*q*) who being perſuaded that

(*q*) Giam-Baptiſta Vico hath endeavoured to ſupport this opinion, in a work entitled "principi di ſcienza nuova intorno alla commune nature delle nazioni." This was followed by a ſimilar publication from Mr. Duni, ("Origine, e progreſſi del cittadino, e del

the Roman government had no mixture of democracy, in the infancy of its conſtitution, have imagined it impoſſible to repreſent the ſubjects of Romulus, in too diſgraceful a light. They, confidently, aſſert that this new-born colony was peopled, ſolely, by vagabonds, and individuals diſowned by all; that from amongſt theſe, their legiſlator choſe the moſt eminent, that is to ſay, ſuch as were originally,

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e del governo, civile di Roma,") whoſe ſentiments are adopted by Mr. l'Abbé Bignon, in his "hiſtoire critique du gouvernement Romain." Although we do not think ourſelves obliged to admit the principles of theſe authors, in their utmoſt latitude, yet we cannot mention the learning, and penetration, which they have diſcovered in their writings, without the higheſt applauſe. We would, in this place, willingly, attempt to give the reader an idea of thoſe reaſons, which they have advanced, in ſupport of their argument; but were it even poſſible for us to undertake this taſk, without wandering too far from our ſubject, we ſhould, notwithſtanding, be of opinion, that it would be better to recommend a thorough peruſal of their works, the matter of which would make ample reparation for the pains of having examined it. It will ſuffice, then, to obſerve, that the argument from whence our authors draw the greateſt advantage, is, the difference which the privilege of taking the auguries, eſtabliſhed amongſt the citizens. Mr. Duni has fully proved, that only the auguries could conſtitute

originially, free men, (ingenuos) and whoſe fathers were known; that it was from theſe, that he ſelected the ſenators, and with the ſenators, only, that he divided the authority; and that the people (Plebs) or in other words, the commons, were, only, compoſed of clients, or bondmen attached to their chiefs; or elſe, of a troop of fugitives, whom the protection offered by Romulus, had collected together.

tute a marriage in that form, which the Romans called nuptiæ; whilſt the union of perſons of different ſexes was, amongſt the Plebeians, nothing but a kind of cohabitation, underſtood by the word, connubium. All theſe obſervations are juſt, and ingenious; but the great error lies in their having been perverted. As to the Plebeians not marrying, in the face of the church, does it, therefore, follow that their marriages, their ſucceſſions, and their inheritances, were no more regulated than thoſe of the Negroes, belonging to our colonies, are, at preſent? does it, alſo, follow that the people had no ſhare in the government? if, on the contrary, it be certain, that the Plebeian families, like thoſe of the Patricians, perpetuated themſelves by inheritage; if the rewards acquired by ſervices in war; if diſtinctions, names, and properties were preſerved from race to race, then did not the people, however deprived of the privilege of taking the auguries, form a body politic, and a part of the republic? beſides, it

If Livy, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius, ſhould prove equally full in their evidence againſt this paradox, our learned authors would not ſcruple to reject their teſtimony. "*Theſe writers have pretended, to aſſert what they were ignorant of. A profound night covered*

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it doth not appear that the free Romans, at any time, married ſlaves: and if the ſimple connubium had been ſo abject, and ſo brutal an union of the two ſexes, how could the Patricians have ſubmitted to an intermarriage with mere Plebeians? it is, nevertheleſs, certain that theſe marriages were cuſtomary, previous to the law of the twelve tables, and ſince it is not evident that this uſage was, at that time, forbidden, as being a recent innovation, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that it exiſted, even before the people had tribunes, that is, when their condition was the moſt abject, and unfortunate.

It appears, then, that our authors, with all their abilities, and intelligence, were deceived, by extending their principles too far. In this reſpect, they are, certainly, very excuſable. There would be but little erudition amongſt the men of genius, if a taſte for paradoxes were not, ſometimes, to come to their aſſiſtance. The writer of imagination ſuffers himſelf to be captivated by an idea: he ſeizes on it with ardour, and having once pierced into it, employs all his talents to ſupport it: he reads, examines, and compiles; how much muſt learning be obliged to him, when, thus, made the inſtrument of freeing him from the yoke of pedantry!

vered the firſt ages of Rome, and it is raſhneſs to attempt to penetrate through its obſcurity:" and yet our modern critics, have found no difficulty in effecting, what theſe two celebrated antients could not accompliſh. It is a fact, that in ſpite of their having excepted againſt their depoſitions, they condeſcended to avail themſelves of them, whenſoever they appeared to ſuit their purpoſes. For example, after a peremptory condemnation of the opinions, given by Dionyſius, relative to the Roman government, they, nevertheleſs, confidently preſent us with citations, taken from paſſages, in thoſe numerous harangues, with which that author thought proper to adorn his works; as if what he had, viſibly, invented, could have had any weight, when thrown into the ſcale, againſt what he related, and as if he had not known, much better than another, the conſequences of theſe pretended contradictions. As we do not perceive ourſelves concerned in this diſcuſſion, we ſhall, therefore, reſt contented with making the following obſervations.

Firſt, ſuppoſing it to be even certain, that hiſtory hath not tranſmitted to us, any authentic traditions, reſpecting the firſt ages of

Rome, this circumſtance would, then, furniſh the moderns with a pretext for believing, that they could advance better reaſons, and conjectures, towards the elucidation of this ſubject, than the Romans themſelves have ever given.(r)

Secondly, were it, as ſome have ingeniouſly inſinuated, a fact, that hiſtorians have been more ſcrupulous in their detail of events, in proportion to the diſtance of thoſe ages, the tranſactions of which they wrote, it would not follow, from thence, that they deſerved leſs confidence than their predeceſſors; for the art of criticiſm and inveſtigation is peculiar to enlightened æras; nor is it the proſpective glaſs, but the illuminating torch, which

(r) It is exceedingly to be lamented that the accounts of the eſtabliſhment of nations, of all other accounts in the hiſtorical department, the moſt intereſting, and the moſt inſtructive, ſhould be ſo univerſally defective. A want of authentic memorials is not peculiar to the firſt ages of Rome. The annals of Britain are, perhaps, equally involved in obſcurity, and equally wrapped in fables. The improbability that the two firſt kings of Rome ſhould have been, accidentally, called by names, alluſive to their future actions, hath often been remarked. Every one knows that the words Romulus, and Rome, are taken from a Greek expreſſion, ſignifying force; and that the name, Numa, is derived from the ſame language, and means law. K.

which is ſo neceſſary to the ſtudy of hiſtory. Who, for inſtance, can doubt, that the preſent times poſſeſs a more competent knowledge of the reigns of the firſt race of our kings, than thoſe times in which Froeſſart exiſted? Who, alſo, can doubt that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius had, after twenty years of aſſiduous labour, conceived better notions of the Roman hiſtory than Fabius Pictor.

Thirdly, all the hiſtorians, and all traditions inform us, that Romulus conducted to Rome, a colony of Albans: now, we have not the leaſt proof, that the people of Alba ſtood, at any time, in that diſgraceful light, in which the Romans of that age, were painted. On the contrary, if conjectures may be admitted, there is every reaſon to believe that this people became eſtabliſhed under Amulius, becauſe every monarch, deſirous of being abſolute, rather protects the people, than the great.

Fourthly, antiquity furniſhes us with many examples of the prodigious difference, which ſubſiſted between the freeman,(s) and the

(s) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius obſerves, that Servius Tullius ſhared the conquered lands amongſt the citizens, who,

ſlave; but it produces no inſtance of that middle order, that race of bondmen, intended to have been brought to Rome, in the retinue of the Patricians. Every ſlave had a maſter, and his only abode was the houſe, to which he belonged. He could not, therefore, form, with others, a claſs apart, however abject that claſs might be ſuppoſed to be.

Fifthly, the Sabines having united themſelves to the Romans, by a free covenant, and

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who, having nothing belonging to them, were obliged to work with their own hands; ſo that, after this diſpoſition, the individuals amongſt the Romans, conſiſted only of proprietaries, and ſlaves. Now the ſame author, willing to juſtify Servius Tullius, for having made a great number of theſe laſt free, enters into a long detail, that he may inform us, under what predicament the ſlaves ſtood amongſt the Romans. He remarks, that they were all compoſed, either of ſuch as were made priſoners in war; thoſe ſold towards the increaſe of the public revenue; or, even, the ſlaves of the enemy, who always made a part of the plunder: from hence, reſult two important circumſtances: firſt, that, amongſt the Romans, war was the ſole ſource of ſlavery; and next, that that race which conſiſted of the vaſſals, and dependants of the great, (as deſcribed by ſome authors) never exiſted at Rome. There are, alſo, other paſſages ſo deciſive, that one would wonder at their

and formed, as it were, an identical part of the people, it is to be preſumed that the condition of the Roman populace was not either more baſe, or more unfortunate than that condition under which they exiſted in their original country; ſince they did not ſtipulate for the enjoyment of any privilege, or diſtinction: and in this, they were imitated by the people of Alba, who, joining themſelves to the Romans, though, indeed, leſs willingly than the others, yet never remonſtrated againſt that abject ſituation into which they muſt

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their having eſcaped the attention of our critics. Such is that of Livy, who, relating the tumults, which preceded the retreat of the people, to the ſacred mount, expreſſes himſelf thus: Civitas ſecum ipſa diſcors inteſtino inter Patres, Plebemque flagrabat odio"... and a little farther on; "magno natu quidam cum omnium majorum ſuorum inſignibus ſe in forum projecit." Now, what could this citizen of great birth, who ſhewed the wounds which he had received in combat, and the blows by which he had been bruiſed, in his ſtate of ſlavery amongſt the Patricians; whoſe misfortunes not only intereſted all the people in his favour, but made them take arms againſt the great, poſſibly be, but a Plebeian? Thus, about the two hundredth and ſixtieth year from the foundation of Rome, there was a Plebeian, whom Livy, the violent Partizan of ariſtocracy, diſtinguiſhed as a man of elevated birth.

muſt (were ſome authors to be credited) have, certainly, been thrown.

Sixthly, all writers not only agree in acknowledging, that the people enjoyed the privilege of electing kings, creating magiſtrates, enacting laws, and determining either on peace, or war; but Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius, ſtill more poſitively aſſerts, that when Horatius had ſtabbed his ſiſter, the power of paſſing judgment on this atrocious crime was referred to the people.

Here, is matter ſufficient to convince us, how reaſonably the Roman government was, hitherto, ſuppoſed to have been intermixed with monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Now, what claim hath this complicated, this modified government to our eſteem? doth it furniſh us with any conſtitutional plan? In fine, what was it, in its firſt principles? let us not ſcruple to call it a ſimple polity, the interior arrangement of a city. I intreat the reader to pay ſome attention to theſe words; in my opinion, they not only contain a new idea, but caſt a great light upon the ſyſtem of politics.

Upon

Upon the ſyſtem of politics![t] the expreſſion which hath juſt dropped from my pen, may ſerve to prove the truth of what I am going to unfold. It is that all the governments of antiquity, except the great antient monarchies, the origin of which we are ignorant of, owe their birth to a town, to a city. A little reflection would convince us, that it could not have been otherwiſe. In fact, men were not known under the name of a people, but when they equally enjoyed the ſame laws, adhered to general cuſtoms, and felt thoſe mutual dependancies, which united them, and, as it were, atteſted their identity. Now, mankind ſtood in no need of laws, and conventions, except when great numbers were aſſembled in a ſmall ſpace. The more individuals are diſſeminated over the ſurface of the earth, the more are they occupied in procuring their ſubſiſtance, either by the chace, or the cultivation of the ground; the leſs, alſo, do they want a legiſlation. On the other hand, the more they are united, the more the circumſtances which draw them to

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(t) Πολιτικη, regendæ civitatis ſcientia, from πολις, a city.

to each other, are multiplied; and the more are they conſtrained to have recourſe to treaties, and conventions. The reſult, therefore, is that the firſt want of every ſociety, muſt have been the want of a polity; and that all governments began by being no more than a ſimple polity. In this inſtance it, particularly, appears that language ſerves to explain facts, and not, that facts ſerve to explain the language. Πολιτεια, amongſt the Greeks, and civitas, amongſt the Romans, ſignified, originally, only the government of a city, although they were, afterwards, ſuppoſed to mean every thing, which appertained to an adminiſtration, in general: and, in the preſent times, by the word, polity, may be underſtood, the government of men, in oppoſition to the term, adminiſtration, which, rather, ſignifies the government of properties.

It will, perhaps, be objected to me, that war is the firſt ſource of authority, and conſequently, of government; to which I ſhall anſwer, that ſuppoſing the war to have been long, and the army numerous, the government of this army muſt ſtill have appertained to a polity; and that if the war had been ſpeedily concluded, a quiet ſociety, and the poſſi-

poſſibility that men might live together without being moleſted, would have proved the firſt object of the conqueror, and the firſt fruits of peace. In theſe two caſes, a polity would have been eſtabliſhed, either in the camp, or in a newly-riſing city. Were theſe conſiderations to be extended to the animal creation, it would, in like manner, appear, that the ſociety of wild beaſts, which, independent upon each other, eaſily procure their ſubſiſtance, is the moſt imperfect ſociety of all; and that the fineſt examples of a regular polity, diſcernible in the works of nature, are found amidſt the hillocks of ants, and the hives of bees. Every thing, therefore, concurs to prove that the firſt conventions were made for a multitude, and that they were confined, as it were, to the laws of juxta-poſition.

Far from ſuppoſing that it is neceſſary, ſtill more extenſively, to unfold theſe truths, we apprehend that they would appear too ſimple and trivial, if we did not preſs forward towards a demonſtration of their importance, and fix the attention on thoſe contradictions, which reign amidſt the firſt principles of all go-

government, and the ends which all government ſhould have in view.

What, in fact, are human creatures, upon the earth? They are children at the breaſt, obliged to preſs the boſom, from which they muſt receive their nouriſhment. What are human creatures in cities? They are tranſplanted plants; improvident, and uncertain beings; and like that multitude of microſcopic animals, which fluctuating from ſide to ſide, and, inceſſantly, precipitating themſelves upon each other, ſeem to have been created, only, that they might preſerve themſelves in motion.

Let it not be doubted that agriculture ſhould be the firſt object of legiſlators, and property, the leading principle of agriculture. Nature granting nothing but to reiterated ſollicitations, her firſt benefits were bought, and the firſt expences, whether of money, or labour, ought to have eſtabliſhed the firſt right of property. The perfection of cultivation would not have failed to have introduced plenty, and variety of productions, from whence muſt have ariſen commerce, and from commerce, muſt have proceeded riches. Then, the neceſſity of public markets, and

and the convenience, reſulting from places ſituated by the banks of rivers, or by the ſhore of the ſea, muſt have given riſe to cities: but theſe, regarded as the laſt product, or the ſimple conſequence of an agragarian government, muſt have received from it, their manners, and their laws. Such peaceable cultivators could not, poſſibly, have neglected an eſtabliſhment of the full influence of their ſalutary principles. Theſe men, attached, by intereſt and habit, to the ſoil, would have made their own preſervation the baſis of their politics; and, perhaps, the word glory, would not have been known in any language; but the contrary to this hath been the caſe.

Whether the firſt inhabitants of the earth, perceived themſelves placed by nature, in thoſe advantageous ſituations, where her gifts were more abundant, and leſs neceſſary; whether force, poſſeſſing, from the beginning, more means of exerting itſelf, ſoon, knew the method of prevailing over labour; or, whether the progreſs of population hath been, always, more rapid, than the progreſs of induſtry; we cannot diſcover that ſtates have been indebted for their origin to cultivators;

on

on the contrary, they ſeem to have been founded by robbers, and vagabonds; hence, it hath happened, that cities were the firſt rudiments of nations; and that the political government hath ſerved as the chief principle in the conſtitution of ſtates.

This we have already obſerved: the origin of antient monarchies is unknown to us; but, let us, without ſearching, with an uſeleſs attention, into the obſcurity of the times, dwell, for a moment, on the progreſs of population, in that part of the world, which during ſo long a period gave either laws or examples to the whole earth.

Whether, or no, Danaus, Pelaſgus, Inachus, and Pelops were the firſt founders of the Grecian cities, it is, nevertheleſs, certain that Greece was peopled by colonies, which came from Aſia, or from Egypt; and it is equally true, that all the great cities of Greece, and Sicily, iſſued from Sparta, Athens, Corinth, Argos, &c. Now, if the progreſs of this population be traced, as many republics, as cities, will appear to have ariſen from it. And, if ever any of theſe eſtabliſhments became united, and ſeemed to form a political ſyſtem, it was effected

fected by a ſimple federal union, like the union of the Amphictyons, the Etruſcans, and the people of Latium. On the other hand, if theſe rich mines of the human ſpecies, if theſe vaſt oriental monarchies, ſunk under the efforts of the newly-riſing republics, what could have remained upon the earth, except the veſtiges of that ſingle government, which the conquerors obeyed? Corinth gave birth to Syracuſe; Tyre to Carthage; Troy to Alba; and Alba to Rome. To theſe famous names, add the names of Sparta, and of Athens, and you will have enumerated the principal actors on the great theatre of the world.

Let the reſpectable philoſophers, who labour to diſengage mankind from ſuch frivolous amuſements, ſuch idle ſpeculations, and attach them to thoſe two important objects, their ſubſiſtance, and their happineſs, no longer wonder if the plan of a government, founded upon agriculture, and territorial property, ſhould prove an abſolutely new idea, exiſting only in opinion, or on paper. Would they account for our ignorance of ſo intereſting a matter, let them recollect thoſe innumerable errors, which were committed by that political ſyſtem of government, which

became the irreconcileable enemy of property. They will, there, perceive perpetual convulſions, cenſures, reformations, diviſions of land, diſtributions of corn, arbitrary taxes, and, in ſhort, all property hazarded in every one of theſe political quarrels. They will, then, eaſily obſerve, that at all times, when alterations in the conſtitution of the ſtate, and the fortunes of individuals, were, neceſſarily, involved together, quarrels, and ſeditions grew more frequent; and that, on the contrary, whilſt factions mutually diſputed concerning their privileges, and dignities, it was much eaſier to appeaſe them, than if they had, at the ſame time, attacked the properties of each other.

If a municipal adminiſtration, and ſimple forms of polity, had conſtituted the firſt governments of every ſtate, there could, certainly, be no reaſon to expect that its origin ſhould account for its progreſs. Thus, it would be needleſs to ſeek, in the infancy of ſtates, the ſeeds of their future grandeur; and particularly, to amuſe ourſelves with the vain hopes of finding upon ſome little hill, ſurrounded by walls, the principles of an univerſal monarchy.

A young

A young, ambitious man, fatigued with waiting till he might ſucceed his grand-father, and, perhaps, apprehenſive that his legitimacy might be diſputed, propoſes to found a new eſtabliſhment. He, eaſily obtains aſſiſtance, and even ſucceeds in the art of enticing away ſome of his countrymen. A convenient ſpot is choſen, contiguous to which, dwellings are built, that the inhabitants may be nearer at hand, in caſes of mutual aſſiſtance; the circumference is drawn, and ſurrounded by ramparts, and ditches. Scarcely is this eſtabliſhment formed, but an attention is paid to the interior arrangements: it is not poſſible for the founder, whoſe aſſociates were collected together, ſolely, by the hopes of liberty and equality, to riſe, all at once, into the rank of maſter; yet, at the ſame time, the leading part which he took in the plan, and the execution of it, gives him a particular pre-eminence, and conſtitutes him the chief of this riſing ſtate. The fathers of families, and the moſt reſponſible men, compoſe a council, whoſe province is the diſcuſſion of every ſubject; but the deciſion of the moſt important ſubjects is ſubmitted to the general aſſembly of all the

coloniſts. They, ſoon, turn their thoughts towards putting themſelves in a ſtate of defence, and, even, concert meaſures whereby they might be enabled to attack their neighbours. The new inhabitants are divided into different bodies; companies of foot, and troops of horſe are formed, and this city militia ſerves as the model to their army. The deſire of acquiring additional forces, prevents them from being over-ſcrupulous in their reception of recruits. An aſylum is opened to all adventurers, and, eſpecially to fugitive ſlaves: ſuch a circumſtance was, then, of the utmoſt importance, and promiſed to be the ſource of an extenſive population: But as this admiſſion of ſtrangers, of all denominations, introduced coloniſts, ſolely of one ſex, a project is conceived, highly expreſſive of the morals of ſuch citizens. The women, belonging to the neighbouring ſtate, are carried off, in defiance of all the laws of hoſpitality. To recover them, the inſulted people betake themſelves to arms: in the very moment, whilſt they are proſecuting their revenge, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſarmed; the two nations are united by a treaty, ſolemnly confirmed,

confirmed, and (what is ſtill more extraordinary) religiouſly obſerved. The city encreaſes, and its polity becomes more perfect. A king, acting in the character of a lawgiver, ſucceeds a warlike prince; he, alſo, in his turn, gives place to military monarchs. The nation grows warlike, but is ſurrounded by ſtates of the ſame character, and every deciſive advantage which it gains, ſeems, entirely, owing to the conduct of its chiefs: Such an advantage depends on fortune, and cannot, yet, be the effect of the political conſtitution, &c. &c.

Thus far, the conſideration of the progreſs of the Roman republic, would be to little purpoſe. I know but of two cauſes, which may be aſſigned: the one is due to chance, which will, conſtantly, have great weight in all human affairs and theſe inſtances of chance, are, the capacities of the kings, and the length of their reigns: the other cauſe belongs more to polity, and is that principle of population, eſtabliſhed by Romulus, and adopted by his ſucceſſors; a principle which induced the Romans to inſtitute a law, enacting, that the vanquiſhed, inſtead of being reduced to captivity (at that time the cuſtom)

ſhould be all tranſported to their city. This is the real ſource of the greatneſs of Rome. It was this, which, in the ſpace of two hundred and fifty years, after its foundation, occaſioned the number of its inhabitants to mount up to one hundred and thirty thouſand citizens.(*u*) As to its government, what idea can we conceive of that, when we perceive the people baſe enough to groan ſo long, and patiently, beneath the yoke of ſuch a tyrant as Tarquinius Superbus? Indeed, if the Roman youth had not been wearied out by a toilſome, and protracted war; and if a moſt horrid tragedy had not happened, opportunely, to rouſe the ſpirit of the people, Rome muſt have become, what Syracuſe was, the ſport of tyrants, and the theatre of revolutions.

But their kings were expelled, and liberty ſat in their places... Liberty!... what liberty? Tyranny did but exchange hands, paſſing from kings to the great. The people bewail their earlieſt captivity; they complain, and are not heard; reduced, at length, to an exceſs

(*u*) Or, according to the calculation of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius, one hundred, and forty thouſand ſouls.

exceſs of deſpair, in the violence of their woes, alone, they find the courage neceſſary to make them terminate. The eſtabliſhment of the office of Tribune confirms the effect of the Valerian law. The people receive new life; and ſcarcely have they ceaſed from fearing, before they become formidable. Here, the complexion of the times undergoes an univerſal change; and the hiſtory of the Roman government is, from henceforth, a detail of the progreſs of Democracy. The Plebeians are, by marriages, confounded with the nobles, and Rome, practically democratical, is no longer ariſtocratical, except in ſpeculation; for it is remarkable that the Roman polity was never proportioned to the conſtitution of the government; ſo that the people, when ſtripped of their privileges, preſerved their influence, by the terror which they inſpired, and the nobility, when deprived of their original rights, were indebted, for their conſequence, to popular reſpect.(*w*)

I would, now, aſk theſe ſubtle politicians, who ſee every thing in Rome, as Malle-

(*w*) During the ſecond Punic war, moſt of the dignities were held by the Patricians.

branche ſaw every thing in God, what æra, what moment of this perpetual fluctuation, they would ſeize on, to take from the Roman government, a pattern, which every other nation ought to follow? They may, perhaps, be ſomewhat embarraſſed by this queſtion, and yet, they may contrive to elude it. This will be their anſwer. "We allow that the conſtitution of the Roman republic never had any properly fixed principles; but you cannot deny that its polity enjoyed, at leaſt, an equal advantage. That ſpirit of diſcipline, that perfection in the art of war, that ſyſtem, to which power, and encreaſing grandeur were attached, ſufficiently plead in favour of the principal ſprings in the machine of government. Such great effects, muſt have proceeded from powerful cauſes."

Here, I muſt beg to be indulged with the inſinuation of a doubt, the temerity of advancing which (if doubting can be temerity) I ſhall not endeavour to conceal. The Romans, indeed, as their own hiſtorians affirm, triumphed over their neighbours, almoſt as frequently as they fought; but to form a judgment concerning theſe great advantages, let

let us recollect that they waged war, during a ſpace of time, nearly approaching to four hundred years, ere they reduced to ſubmiſſion, the ſingle city of Veü:(x) and let us wait, before we eſtimate this ſuperiority of the Romans, until we ſhall have read, in the works of the hiſtorians of the Volſcians, the Æqui, the Samnites, and the Etruſcans, the ſame facts which Livy hath related: yet even this, is unneceſſary: for that very author, ſomewhere, confeſſes, that, for a long ſpace of time, the Volſci were, at leaſt, as ſucceſful as the Romans. We will not, in this place, call forth the too well known hiſtories of Porſenna, Coriolanus, and Brennus, the Gaul; but ſhall reſt contented with remarking that if Horatius Cocles had, unfortunately, fallen, when he received the wound on his knee; if the mother of Coriolanus had died, ſome years ſooner; and if Manlius Capitolinus had ſlept one quarter of an hour more, the

(x) It appears that, after a ſiege of ten years, the Romans accompliſhed their reduction, ſolely, by the error, which this city committed, in chooſing a king, and abandoning her alliance with the Latins; a defection which they could never forgive.

the miſtreſs of the world had been entirely overthrown.

I cannot avoid fixing the attention of the reader, for a moment, upon this object. Let him judge, with me, how frivolous the common place obſervations, ſo frequently repeated, by thoſe authors, who have written concerning the Romans, muſt, unavoidably, prove. What is more common than to find it aſſerted, that the ſpirit of conqueſt was the ſoul of their government? The ſpirit of conqueſt, amongſt men who ſuffered three hundred and ſixty years to roll away, without bethinking themſelves of attempting a ſiege! the ſpirit of conqueſt, amongſt a people, whoſe wars were only wars of repriſals, or of plunder! the ſpirit of conqueſt, amongſt individuals, who never imagined that, to ſubdue their enemies, they ſhould have ſeized their military fortreſſes! We need not quit the ſtreets of Rome, to diſcover the ſecret ſprings in their machine of government: let us direct our reſearches, ſolely, into the diſſenſions betwixt the people, and the great; theſe diſſenſions conſtitute the ſources of all thoſe events which excite our ſurprize. At firſt, the great dreading the people,

people, when animated by their Tribunes, conceived the expedient of ſending them to war: but as the ſoldiers were obliged to furniſh themſelves with ſubſiſtance, at their own expence, it was not convenient to make long campaigns. It was, therefore, only for a time that they were diverted by war, from an attention to public affairs, and, that time being elapſed, they returned from battle, more burdened, and more mutinous, than they had ever been. A project was, then, concerted to prolong the war, and to lay ſieges. To effect this, it became neceſſary to adopt the reſolution of giving pay to the troops. The Patricians entered, heartily, into the ſacrifice of their contingent, and ſent it, of their own accord, to the public treaſury: But the Tribunes were not ſo eaſily duped. They tore the maſk off from this falſe generoſity, and expoſed the ſnare, concealed under this apparent beneficence.

What is the reſult of all this? it is, that it occaſions, in our opinion, a reaction of effects upon cauſes, and of cauſes upon effects: that is, for inſtance, we are induced to judge of the conſtitution of a government, from ſome ſplendid circumſtances, which excite

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our reſpect; and, on the other hand, full of this idea, we place moſt of the events, in the ſame point of view, from which we beheld the principal events. Now, I conſider human reaſon, as armed with two inſtruments, and theſe are contemplation,(y) and experiment. Theſe, only, can enable it to pierce through the chaos of opinions, in ſearch of truth; but if, inſtead of perfecting them, it were to hurry on, through the concurrent uſe of each, the conſequence muſt be, that, claſhing inceſſantly, the one againſt the other, they would be impaired, before they could aſſiſt it.

It is aſtoniſhing, that mankind ſhould have been almoſt conſtantly miſtaken in the uſe of theſe two inſtruments. The phyſical ſyſtem hath been ſubmitted to contemplation, and the political ſyſtem to experiment. The laws of nature have been founded on ingenious, but extravagant conjectures; the laws of ſociety have been founded on particular facts. The cruelties of a tyrant occaſioned the extirpation of monarchy; an unfortunate ſucceſs, an error of councils, effected the diſmiſſion of

(y) Theory, which is derived from the Greek word Θεωρια, ſignifies, only, contemplation.

of democracy ; an abuſe, either of power, or of riches, threw a diſcredit over ariſtocracy; a crime committed on the perſon of a female, exceedingly beloved, eſtabliſhed a violent ſeverity in the infliction of puniſhments ; a repriſal, dictated by paſſion, fixed the rights of war. Thus, men, gueſſing at the events of future days, by the circumſtances which had ariſen in the courſe of the preceding days, have blunted the inſtrument of experiment, and, entirely, abandoned the inſtrument of meditation.

How different ſhould have been the path, marked out for the exertion, and progreſs of the human underſtanding ! aſtronomy, Phyſics, and natural hiſtory, have, as it were, been laviſh of thoſe given problems, which they have preſented, for our diſcuſſion. All that remained for us, was to adjuſt the equation, to arrange, and to number ; a ſecond ſtudy, then, courted our reſearches, and that was Zoology, or the knowledge of living creatures, either in their kinds, or ſeparately, the which ſtudy conducted us to the philoſophy of phyſics, that is, the art of preſerving mankind, in the moſt perfect ſtate of welfare, poſſibly attainable, by equally em-

employing phyſical, and moral means: I ſay, moral means, for who doubts whether, or no, morality be a branch of phyſics? Here the quantity of facts was immenſe, but the inconvenience ariſing from variety counterballanced the advantage, reſulting from multiplicity. In this caſe, experiment muſt have been attended with timidity, and whilſt expectation was involved in doubts, the practice, or the ſcience thrown into action, could not have been employed, except with much reſerve. To theſe ſtudies, naturally ſucceeded the ſtudies of government, that is, of political bodies; of thoſe organized aggregations, which under the name of empires, or republics, preſent to us a new order of moral beings. Now, who doth not, at the firſt ſight, perceive that theſe political bodies, in number extremely ſmall, and full of varieties, or anomalies, are, of all the objects of our reſearches, thoſe objects which, more than any others, elude the light of experiment?

From theſe reflections, which we do but juſt hint to the reader, a new ſyſtem of ſcience, hitherto unknown, ſeems, all at once, to ſpring up. The examination of nature, and

and of her fixed, immutable, and neceſſary laws, ſhould be the firſt foundation of all knowledge, the initium ſapientiæ. From theſe primary notions of nature, one might proceed to her principal productions, and, at length, to her circumſcribed, and individuated operations. Andrologia, or the knowledge of man in general, would ſerve as the baſis to medicine, natural hiſtory, and morality; and theſe would give birth to politics, which would prove but the reſult of all the others. It is, then, that an abſolute Phyſiocratia would ariſe, a government founded on the powers of nature, and the energy of her action.

In a leſs enlightened age, and at a period, when the human mind might not be ſo much accuſtomed, as it is at preſent, to the moſt ſubſtantial nouriſhment, it would be neceſſary to apologize for this philoſophical digreſſion, and, particularly, for that conciſe, and abſtracted form, into which I have thrown theſe reflections: but I am not ignorant, that knowledge is, in our days, become ſo diffuſive, that authors can, ſcarcely, make any other pretenſions to a ſuperiority over their readers, except thoſe pretenſions which may

may have ariſen from the labour of having meditated, longer than them, upon the ſubjects concerning which they may have written. I, even, perceive that nothing can be more grateful to the compoſer of a work than to imagine himſelf placed near a man of genius, who, rapidly, ſeizes all his thoughts, whoſe attention animates him, whoſe looks encourage him, and at whoſe ſide he finds freſh vigour imparted to his abilities, and additional certainty infuſed into his conceptions. In this confidence, I flatter myſelf, that I may diſpenſe with expatiating on the reſult of what hath been advanced; and proving farther, that, on the one hand, the principles of polity, adopted by mankind, have never reſted upon a ſolid baſis; and that, on the other hand, it is very neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſufficient number of facts, attendant on this ſcience, to reduce it to experiment, or, in other words, to the doctrine of example.

To return to the Romans: it may be proper to recollect what hath been already obſerved, concerning that error, which leads us to judge of facts, rather according to our anterior prepoſſeſſions, than by an examination of thoſe facts, as within themſelves. We ſhall,

ſhall, then, quickly perceive to what extremes the vanity of the Romans, the adulation of the Greeks, and the enthuſiaſtic admiration of poſterity, have ſtretched themſelves, to give a kind of bold, and ſingular relief to the infancy of the republic. Thus, when Servius Tullius had been elevated from a ſtate of ſlavery, to the royal dignity, it was aſſerted, that a celeſtial flame had formerly been obſerved to deſcend upon his cradle.

This diſpoſition appears no where, ſo ſtriking, as in the opinion conceived of the Roman art of war. Not contented with having beſtowed on it the applauſe which it deſerves, its encomiaſts would fain perſuade us to forget that it did not reach its laſt degree of perfection, till the time of the Scipios: and they would willingly call, that military knowledge, which the Romans derived at length, ſolely, from the frequency of miſconduct and bad ſucceſs, the neceſſary conſequence ariſing from the wiſdom of their government. (z)

(z) As I am precluded, by the ſubject of this work, from entering into a long detail, concerning the Roman

I am aſtoniſhed that no perſon hath, as yet, been induced to compare the quantity of battles, which Livy makes the Romans gain, with the ſmall number of real ſucceſſes, which they acquired, during the ſpace of four hundred

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Roman art of war, I ſhall only produce one, from amongſt the many errors committed, on theſe occaſions.

Becauſe it hath been obſerved, that the Romans, towards the time of the Punic wars, formed themſelves into ſuch a diſpoſition of battle, as to have occaſioned the ranging of the infantry, in chequers, or ſquares, conſiſting of three files, with the cavalry, on the wings; it was, therefore, imagined that they, always, drew up their army in this order. I am, however, enabled to prove, that, during the four firſt ages of the republic, the cavalry was conſtantly ſtationed, as a body of reſerve. From amidſt a multitude of facts, tending to confirm this opinion, I ſhall reſt contented with a ſelection of theſe facts which follow. Livy, mentioning a great battle, between Fabius and the Samnites, aſſerts, that this conſul ordered his cavalry to charge, but that they threw their own troops, and the forces of the enemy, into equal diſorder. Equites ducibus tribunis antè ſigna evecti, haud multò plus hoſtibus, quam ſuis præbuerunt tumultus. Now, theſe equites ante ſigna evecti, who occaſioned ſo much confuſion amongſt their own infantry, and the infantry of the enemy, could, ſurely, be no other, than a body of reſerve, ruſhing on to the charge, through the intervals of their foot.

hundred years. I am ſtill more ſurprized, that no doubt is entertained concerning the authenticity of the hiſtory, when the hiſtorian is obſerved to be ſo very exact, as never to omit the detail of a ſingle action: there are ſufficient opportunities of comparing this

foot. I omit the deſcription of a number of battles, during which the conſul is ſuppoſed to have ordered his cavalry to fall back into the rear, in order to charge the enemy, in flank; a kind of attack, which muſt have proved unavoidable, in the very beginning of the action, had the cavalry been ſtationed on the wings; and which, alſo, could never have been executed, if the cavalry of the enemy, had obſerved the ſame diſpoſition: but let me remark that the four hundredth, and fortieth year, from the foundation of Rome, is the period, at which Livy fixes the firſt introduction of this diſpoſition of battle, ſo often practiſed afterwards. Treating of the Samnites, his words are: Itaque in aciem procedunt, equitibus in cornua diviſis. Doth not the particular attention with which the author deſcribes this diſpoſition, ſufficiently prove that, it was, hitherto, almoſt without a precedent? The following paſſage informs us, that the infantry did not march on to the attack, in chequers, or ſquares; and is an additional confirmation of the opinion, which we have advanced, inſinuating that the cavalry was ſtationed, as a body of reſerve. The dictator, Marcus Valerius, coming up to the aſſiſtance of an advanced guard, marched in the following order. Prima incedebant ſigna

ſcrupulous attention, with the attention employed in tranſmitting to us all the harangues; and of remarking, in particular, a certain uniformity in the deſcriptions, which gives the intelligent reader occaſion to ſuſpect, that

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ſigna legionum, ne quid occultum, aut repentinum hoſtis timeret, ſed reliquerat intervalla inter ordines peditum, quâ ſatis laxo ſpatio, equi permitti poſſent. By this, it may be perceived that on the one hand, the legion did not, conſtantly, leave intervals, for then the hiſtorian would have been ſatisfied, with ſaying, that they had been augmented: and that on the other hand, the cavalry was not ſtationed at the wings; for had that been the caſe, in this particular inſtance, ſo new a diſpoſition would have excited the attention of the enemy, and have taught them to expect a rapid, and unexpected aſſault, (quid repentinum) what aſtoniſhes me the moſt, is, that no perſon hath been led to make theſe obſervations by a conviction, that they were abſolutely neceſſary, to effect an explanation of certain paſſages, which muſt, without it, have appeared abſurd. It hath been obſerved that the Roman cavalry ſometimes attacked the enemy in flank, and, at other times, in the rear; and thus gained a deciſive victory: they, ſometimes, alſo, alighted, to renew the fight, on foot. Now, it is ridiculous to aſſert, that the Romans, having no ſkill in horſemanſhip, frequently gave the preference to an attack on foot, becauſe it is well known, that the deciſion of the battle was, often, owing to their having charged on horſeback. The fact, then, was ſimply this. When the enemy had kept their flanks

that the variety of the different orders of battle, was confined to the tactics of the author, and not to the poſſibilities of war. What! after ſo many battles gained, by the left, the right, and the center diviſions;

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flanks too cloſe, to apprehend their being broken into, and when the firſt attack of their infantry had made the Roman foot give way, the conſuls, perceiving that they had neither time, nor opportunity, to make a diverſion againſt the wings, failed not to order the horſemen to alight, and, at the ſame time, directing the maniple to open, they led on this body of reſerve, (ante ſigna) that is, in the front of the troops.

As to the Roman art of war, in general, the beſt judgment which I can preſume to paſs on it, after the moſt mature examination, is this: during almoſt five ages, Rome did not much outſtrip her neighbours in the acquiſition of advantages. Her infantry were never diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperiority, and in moſt of her ſucceſsful wars, the victory was owing to the good order, and intrepidity, with which the cavalry charged. I am convinced that this truth is but little known; but could I perſuade the military men to read Livy, with attention, I flatter myſelf that they would agree with me. As to the reſt, the Romans had no idea of continuing the war by campaigns, and ſo ignorant were they of ſtratagems of any kind, that when Hannibal employed them, and when his Numidian cavalry gained advantages over the cavalry of the Romans, the latter were

after three hundred and ſixty years, paſſed in war, is Veü not yet taken! Veü ſuſtains a ſiege of ten years: (let it be obſerved how ſuſpicious the reſemblance is, between this account, and the account of the ſiege of Troy). At the end of this period, the taking of Veü is effected, ſolely, by the ſuperior genius of one man. And what man? the deliverer, the reformer of his country, the immortal Furius Camillus! what ſhall I ſay of the Samnites, who ſupported a war againſt Rome, during a ſpace of forty years? or of the Gauls, who almoſt conſtantly triumphed over the Romans, however hiſtorians may have laboured to diſguiſe, and even to alter the

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were involved in a ſeries of defeats, which, as they increaſed, were attended by additional circumſtances of humiliation.

To conclude; it doth not appear, that the Roman authors, who wrote the annals of thoſe times in which the republic ſtill exiſted, and before flattery had ariſen to its full heighth, did, at any period, fairly make out their pretenſions to thoſe exceſſive praiſes, which were afterwards laviſhed on their nation. Witneſs that confeſſion of Salluſt. — Sciebam.... facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos, ante Romanis fuiſſe..... (Bellum Catil.)

the narrative of facts? (*a*) but it will be objected to me, that Rome, at length, became the miſtreſs of the world; and I ſhall be aſked what proofs can remain to account for her prodigious ſucceſs, if her ſyſtem of government, and her art of war be thus attached.

To this objection I anſwer, firſt, that he who takes the dimenſions of an edifice, doth not, on that account, pretend that he can pull it down; and if I have imagined, that an enthuſiaſtic admiration hath attributed too much merit to the polity of the Romans, I am not the leſs induced to revere a thouſand admirable circumſtances, which have been handed down to us, as examples worthy of our imitation. Secondly, I muſt remark, that whilſt men, endued with the moſt profound learning, and the moſt lively genius, have

(*a*) It is apparent that the account of the arrival of Furius Camillus, when the Romans were on the point of treating for their ranſom, is no more than the fabulous invention of either pride, or flattery. The Chevalier Folard hath fully refuted it, in his commentaries on Polybius, notwithſtanding that he hath paſſed by the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus, ſo directly oppoſite not only to the aſſertions of Livy, and Plutarch, but, alſo to the authority of Tacitus, who puts this ſentence into the mouth of Claudius. "Capti a Gallis ſumus." .... V. Tacit. Annal. lib. 11.

ſacrificed all their attention to the taſk, of finding in Rome herſelf, the ſource of her grandeur, they have too much neglected the inveſtigation of thoſe exterior cauſes, which contributed to that grandeur; as if, in determining on the power of a lever, it were not neceſſary to go to the extreme point, and aſcertain its reſiſtance. It is an omiſſion, of which I accuſe the celebrated Machiavel, and the illuſtrious Monteſquieu, above all others, *(b)* becauſe the former, and the latter could not have avoided infuſing into their obſervations all the fire of their genius, and all the ſagacity of their underſtanding: ſince they have neglected this object, let us endeavour to

(b) Machiavel, in the compoſition of his admirable diſcourſes, concerning the firſt decad of Livy, doth not ſeem to have endeavoured to unravel the ſyſtem of the aggrandizement of the Roman republic. Neither hath the preſident Monteſquieu ſuppoſed this to be a new and neceſſary taſk: doth his work, then, correſpond with its title? the reflections which he allows himſelf to make on the five firſt ages of the republic ſcarcely take up ſixty duodecimo pages; I muſt confeſs, that, whatſoever genius may diſtinguiſh theſe reflections, they ſeem ſo vague, and ſo detached, that they reſemble marginal notes, written on the ſame work, of which Machiavel was the commentator.

to throw ſome light upon it, and firſt, let us conſider Italy, as within herſelf.

Nothing could have been more favourable to the eſtabliſhment of any ſtate whatſoever, than the poſture of Italy, at the demiſe of Tarquinius Superbus, that is, at the period, when the Roman republic began to acquire a certain ſtability. In fact, matters were ſo arranged, that the neighbouring inland nations, although ſufficiently warlike to exerciſe the courage of the Romans, were, notwithſtanding, as yet, too barbarous and too unpoliſhed, to avail themſelves of the means of reducing them to ſubmiſſion; whilſt the people inhabiting the countries nearer to the ſhores of the ſea, were, at once, affluent and refined, but too effeminate and ennervated, to render themſelves formidable. Thus Italy found herſelf divided into indigenous nations, ſtill retaining their barbariſm, and Grecian colonies, amongſt which, commerce and induſtry had, already, introduced luxury and corruption. The Romans, having become the conquerors of the neareſt neighbouring nations, ſhould, at the ſame time, have vanquiſhed all Italy. The weakneſs of Capua, and the puſillanimity of the people of Tarentum,

tum, may, eaſily, be recollected; but it ſhould, alſo, be remembered that, if Pyrrhus, leſs inconſtant, leſs vague in his projects, or rather more immediately intereſted in the liberty of Italy, had vigorouſly puſhed on the war, perhaps, Fabricius had been the laſt hero of whom Rome could have boaſted. Rome, having once rendered herſelf the miſtreſs of Italy, what was wanting to make her the miſtreſs of the whole world, but to conceive it poſſible that ſhe might be miſtreſs? Carthage taught her to perceive it, and ſeemed to enter into competition with her, only to enable her to know her own power. In fact, what ſtate had the Romans to fear? was it Sicily, divided into ſeveral ſmall republics, and governed by ſeveral petty tyrants? Could the Illyrians, a deſpicable people, whoſe whole lives were ſpent in acts of piracy, be the objects of their apprehenſions? or, could even Macedonia herſelf alarm them, when engaged in all the Grecian quarrels, and rendered, in her turn, the theatre of revolutions? all the forces of Europe had paſſed into Aſia, and the military power became, lately, fixed there, as if that region had been its native reſidence.

Car-

Carthage, then, was all that remained in the Weſt: but, what, within itſelf, was this power of Carthage? it was like the power which the Engliſh enjoy, at preſent, in America, and in India; that is, a power, which, having been eſtabliſhed, by an aſpiring and victorious commerce, at once, extended itſelf along the coaſts, and cauſed its influence to be felt, through all the inland parts: there is, however, this difference; the power of the Engliſh pointed, at leaſt, to a reſpectable object, a kind of vice, where its whole force concentrated; whilſt Carthage, like thoſe polypuſſes, the vague exiſtence of which, loſes in energy, what it acquires in the ſuperficies, ſeemed more jealouſly employed in extending than in fortifying her poſſeſſions. The Numidian kings, ſuch as Syphax, and Maſiniſſa; the people of Spain, ſuch as the Celtiberians and the Luſitanians, the inhabitants of Sardinia, and of Corſica, were to Carthage, what the Morattoes, and the Indians are, in this age, to the Engliſh eſtabliſhments, and, particularly, what the Mexicans would have been to the Spaniards, if theſe laſt, contented with trading amongſt them, had not cruelly reſolved on their deſtruction. Now, theſe powers,

powers, thus eſtabliſhed by commerce, find it more neceſſary to attack, than to prepare for a defence. Some ſea-ports, ſome fortified factories, and, chiefly, the ſuperiority which valour and induſtry acquire over the ignorance of a cowardly, and ſtupid people, are the only means to be employed in enforcing the obedience of ſo many tributary, or allied nations. In the moment of having recourſe to arms, and declaring war, it is eaſy to obtain ſuccours, which may follow in the train; but when the enemies, recovered from their firſt fright, ſhall have thought of making diverſions, then all the advantage will begin to paſs over to their ſide. They have only one plan of attack, but theſe other powers muſt concert a thouſand methods of defence. The proſpect of the vaſt extent of their domains, far from inſpiring them with confidence, ſerves only to multiply their fears, and as a ſingle ſacrifice is thought a preſage of bad ſucceſs, the deſire of preſerving every thing, induces them to divide their forces. Theſe timid precautions diffuſe a languor over the operations of war. The allied nations which, before, ſeemed to atteſt their authority, ſoon become ſuſpected in their

their turn. Inſtead of ſending them againſt the enemy, it is neceſſary to watch over their motions; and it is thus, that a republic which ſeemed the ſovereign of Africa, of Spain, and of Sardinia, concluded every thing, with having for its enemies, the Africans, the Spaniards, and the Sardinians.

From this picture, it is eaſy to judge whether the Romans, who aggrandized themſelves only by repelling the attacks of their neighbours, and who were, in fact, rather raiſed to a relief, than aggrandized, ought to enjoy an advantage over the Carthaginians. Placed in the centre of Italy, of which they had rendered themſelves the maſters, their fleet might eaſily command the two ſeas, and their armies might quickly march to every part, in which the enemy ſhould have dared to appear.(c) Beſides, in the firſt Punic war, the Romans were but auxiliaries, and ſince Syracuſe, under Gelo, under Dionyſius, and under Agathocles, could ſo effectually, and

(c) Strabo imagined that the ſituation of Rome had contributed much to the aggrandizement of the republic: he reaſoned like a geographer. Monteſquieu diſcovers all theſe cauſes in the nature of their government: he reaſons like a civilian.

and ſo often reſiſt the force of Carthage; nay, could even reduce her almoſt to the brink of deſtruction, it is not aſtoniſhing that, with ſuch an ally, Rome gained ſome victories. Had the life of Hiero been prolonged, he, undoubtedly, would have contrived an expedient, that might have ballanced the power of theſe two formidable enemies, and have applied himſelf to the taſk of delivering Sicily, from the inconvenience of being burdened with any foreign troops. Indeed, the accompliſhment of ſuch an enterprize, muſt have been attended with ſome difficulty, as this iſland contained a number of different ſmall ſtates, divided in their intereſts, and jealous of each other. But Hiero was protected by the Romans: there can be nothing more dangerous, than to receive protection from an ambitious power; the ſpecious pretext with which ſuch a power inveſts itſelf, anticipates that firſt effort, of which every nation, jealous of its liberties, is always ſuſceptible.

Whilſt the Romans, like a wreſtler, who had the victory, without being fatigued by the conteſt, were happy in the undiſturbed enjoyment of their own power, the empire

of

of Carthage was ſhaken, even to the foundations. A war amongſt the Mercenaries, a hundred times more terrible than the war of the Romans, occaſions the blood to flow in rivulets, and ſcatters confuſion around the government; it was, then, that Rome, in oppoſition to the faith of treaties, nay, in oppoſition to that decency which would be maintained, in our times, even during the very exertion of an act of uſurpation, took poſſeſſion of Sardinia, and thus, rendered herſelf the miſtreſs of the Mediterranean.

The ſecond Punic war quickly blazed forth, and here it is, that the Romans begin to ſhew themſelves in their true colours. Whatſoever title to our admiration, they may have pretended to poſſeſs, they are going to loſe it, in the courſe of ſome few years. A ſingle man tore off the maſk; it was not even Carthage; it was Hannibal alone, who contended with this powerful republic! what an aſtoniſhing ſeries of defeats! what accumulated inſtances of weakneſs in her councils, and cowardice in her combats!

Yet Rome did not ſink...: true.... but doth it follow that the Romans produced examples

amples of an admirable firmneſs, and conſtancy; that Fabius was one of the greateſt generals of antiquity; and that Rome, at length, prevailed, by the ſtrength of her conſtitution, and by her ſole aſcendancy over Carthage? This queſtion hath, often, been decided in the affirmative, and we cannot treat of it, here, without giving too much into common-place quotations, with which the reader muſt have been, frequently, fatigued. We rather chuſe to hazard ſome reflections upon the plan, concerted by Hannibal; and we muſt confeſs that it appears to be the moſt raſh, and extravagant plan, that ever entered into the human mind: not, indeed, that we preſume to blame theſe daring diverſions: but what is the object of a diverſion? it is to give a terrible and unexpected ſtroke. Thus Agathocles, leaving Syracuſe beſieged, preſented himſelf, at once, before the walls of Carthage: but the rapidity neceſſary to theſe operations, requires that they ſhould be conducted by ſea; that their firſt ſucceſs ſhould be eaſy, and that the terror into which the enemy might be thrown, ſhould be ſudden and unforeſeen.

On

On theſe principles, let us form a judgment concerning the conduct of Hannibal. Could there have been a longer, a more laborious, or a more loathſome expedition, than that expedition in which it became neceſſary to croſs the Alps, and the Pyrenean mountains, whilſt the ſoldiers felt fatigue, diſeaſe, and miſery, as the preludes to a bloody war? To what were his firſt ſucceſſes owing? to the treachery of ſome peaſants, to the helpleſs ſituation of the mountaineers, and ſtill more, to the ignorance and miſconduct of the Roman generals, who neither defended the paſſage of the Rhone, nor the defiles of the Alps. I paſs over, in ſilence, thoſe unexpected victories near Sicinum, and on the banks of the river Trebia; but what ſhall be ſaid of the march of Annibal, through the moraſſes of Cluſium; of the folly of the Roman generals who, at laſt, gave his army time to reinforce themſelves, and who came to an engagement, at Thraſymene, in the very moment, when they ought to have been ſatisfied with keeping them at bay, and reducing them to the perplexing neceſſity of entering into Winter quarters? What! if Frederick the Great, hath been, once in his

life-time, accuſed of temerity, becauſe the ſiege of Olmutz was drawn out to a conſiderable length, and this alſo, when the efforts of the Auſtrians, to retake the field, were incredible; ſhall Hannibal be juſtified, for having undertaken an enterprize, which muſt have proved his ruin, if attended by a ſingle misfortune, and to which, victory herſelf could have inſured no ſucceſs?

It will, perhaps, be objected to me, that, if fortune favoured this celebrated Carthaginian, at the beginning of his expedition, ſhe, ſoon afterwards, manifeſted her inconſtancy, when the ſenate of Carthage refuſed to ſend into Italy the neceſſary ſupplies, towards the continuation of the war: to which I anſwer, firſt, that Hannibal, before it became likely, that he ſhould receive any ſuccours from Africa, had ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties, attending his enterprize, and, of courſe, already ſubmitted to all thoſe events, of which, if a ſingle event had proved unfavourable, he muſt have been irretrievably loſt. Secondly, that all his credit, at Carthage, was limited to a faction; and that he ſhould have known, that when a republic is divided into two factions, the faction which

which acquires its advantages abroad, is liable to loſe its influence at home, becauſe great ſucceſſes attract envy, and remove, at the ſame time, that dread which, alone, can maintain order in a divided ſtate. No circumſtance, therefore, was more eaſily to be foreſeen, than the fall of the Barcinian faction; nor could any thing be more inconſiderate, than to expect ſupplies from a jealous ſenate, who had never looked upon this diverſion with approbation. That Hannibal ſhould have been driven out of Italy is, then, no longer a matter of aſtoniſhment; the wonder lies, in his not having been, ſooner, compelled to make a precipitate retreat: we muſt not admire the Romans, who fought in their own country, and were, conſtantly, able to oppoſe four armies, to a ſingle army: it is Hannibal, whom we muſt applaud; Hannibal, who, deſtitute of all ſupplies, and weakened even by his own victories, perceived himſelf forced to keep up a defenſive war, in the very heart of a country, belonging to the enemy; how particularly is that ſuperiority of genius to be commended, which taught him to bring into ſubjection, an aſſemblage of barbarous nations,

and to acquire ſuch a dominion, over their diſpoſition, as empowered him, in every peculiar caſe of neceſſity, to inſpire them with cool perſeverance, in the place of too daring a confidence; and with a devoted obedience, inſtead of too preſumptuous an oppoſition to his directions!

Amidſt ſuch a multitude of celebrated events, which aroſe during the ſecond Punic war, it is impoſſible for me to forget one event, apparently, ſtill more aſtoniſhing, than the enterpriſe of Hannibal, ſince it is ſomething like a relapſe into the error committed by this great general. I allude to the ſuccours led on by Aſdrubal, and defeated by the conſuls, Livius, and Nero: and here, I cannot avoid inveighing againſt thoſe partial prepoſſeſſions, which would not ſuffer, even this circumſtance, to paſs by, without drawing from it an opportunity of beſtowing a profuſion of applauſe on the Romans; as if any thing, but the heighth of folly, could have adopted the deſign of marching from Spain, and of croſſing the Alps, and the Apennines, with the view of aſſiſting an army, blocked, up, as it were, in Brutium, and with difficulty, ſupporting themſelves in this extremity

extremity of Italy; and as if the ſtolen march of Nero was not, in ſuch a caſe, the moſt obvious operation imaginable, and even the firſt rudiment, and earlieſt leſſon, in the military ſcience. Could Hannibal, reaſonably, have flattered himſelf with the hopes of leading his army, without interruption, acroſs Apulia, Daunia, Samnium, and Picenum, in order to join Aſdrubal, amongſt the Ombri? are not two armies, thus put in motion, from oppoſite quarters, conſtantly expoſed to the probability of a defeat, whilſt they form only a detached part of the whole body? undoubtedly, he, whom we have obſerved, victorious, almoſt at the ſame inſtant of time, in Saxony, in Sileſia, and in Pomerania; he, who, finding himſelf hemmed in, by three formidable armies, and on the point of ſeeing a fourth army ruſh forward to attack him, knew how, by the combined force of military policy and ſignal victories, to diſſipate, in the ſpace of fifteen days, theſe united ſtorms; this truly great man, who bears nothing about his character, that can eclipſe his glory, except the peculiarity of exiſting in theſe modern times, would have felt himſelf exceedingly at eaſe, had he been dictator

of Rome, when Hannibal made his entry into Italy. He would have ſmiled at the temerity of theſe barbarians; and that conduct, which in Livius was the effect of ignorance, in him, had been the effect of policy; I mean, that, inſtead of blocking Aſdrubal up within the defiles of the Apennine mountains, which might have been eaſily accompliſhed, by any one, the leaſt verſed in the operations of a defenſive war, he would have permitted him to advance upon the plain, and thus, have concerted the opportunity of deſtroying him, by a ſingle battle.

Such a multitude of errors, committed by the Carthaginians, and the number of diſaſters, which were the conſequences of thoſe errors, might well accelerate the progreſs of the Romans, in Spain and Sicily. Thus Scipio propoſed his celebrated diverſion, as an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which, was to prove infallible. Even his departure bore rather the air of a triumph than a dangerous expedition. Hannibal flew to the relief of Carthage; but what intelligent ſpectator could, then, have remained doubtful of the event? How could it be ſuppoſed, that an army, harraſſed by a long and miſerable war, would not be intimidated

intimidated by that inſufferable contraſt, which they met with on the plains of Zama? and, what was this army? the Carthaginian Phalanx did not form a third part of it. The remainder conſiſted either of ill-diſpoſed auxiliaries, or diſguſted mercenaries, who, deprived of the proſpect of plunder, ſaw nothing before their eyes, but danger. Hannibal hath been blamed for placing theſe mercenaries, in the front ranks; to have pitied him, had been more natural, ſince he had reaſon to miſtruſt them, to ſo violent a degree, as to conceive no hopes of their making any efforts to conquer, unleſs ſupported, or rather guarded by the national ſoldiers.

But under whatſoever diſadvantages Hannibal may have laboured, yet, nothing can impair the glory of Scipio.*(d)* This hero,

(d) The encomiums, which our ingenious author hath beſtowed on Scipio, are, at once, warm and juſt. That illuſtrious Roman poſſeſſed the happy art of blending the accompliſhments of the gentleman, and the ſcholar, with the conduct and intrepidity of the ſoldier. Learned, and admiring learning, he patronized and retained about him, the moſt eminent in the liberal ſciences. If he retired from his military employments, it was only to cultivate the fruits of peace.

even in his firſt enterprizes, blazed out with a peculiar luſtre: ſomething divine predominates over his character, and is viſible in all the inſtances of his fortune. Happy Rome! thou native land of the Scipios, and the Æmilii, why ſhouldſt thou be debaſed by frivolous and pedantic praiſe? why ſhould thy encomiaſts affect to honour thee, by opinions,

peace. Buſied either in ſtudy, or in arms, his mind was as much diſciplined by ſcience, as his body was expoſed to peril. Till this memorable period, the Romans had but little knowledge of, and perhaps, leſs paſſion for the works of art. The introduction of the fineſt models of this kind was reſerved for Scipio, Marcellus, Paulus Æmilius, and even Mummius, the ignorant Mummius, ſo ridiculous a contraſt to theſe celebrated chiefs, that he threatened the perſons, who were intruſted with the carriage of ſome pictures and ſtatues, taken at Corinth, that if they loſt thoſe, they ſhould give him new ones. The rage for poſſeſſing theſe elegant collections became ſo violent, that the depredations of Verres were not either without advocates, or imitators. What the Romans could not buy, like true virtuoſi, they ſtole: Livy, mentioning the introduction of the ſtatues from Syracuſe, makes this obſervation. Cæterum inde primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque huic ſacra, profanaque omnia vulgò ſpoliandi, factum eſt, quæ poſtremo in Roma, nos deos, templum id ipſum primum, quod a Marcello eximie ornatum eſt, vertit..... *See a character of Scipio in the Connoiſſeur.* K.

nions, ſo different from thoſe, which thou draweſt upon thyſelf? were I to offer thee, the homage of my admiration, my fancy would tranſport me to the public ſtanding places, where I might behold Marcellus, diſplaying to thy view, the wonders of Sicily; or rather, where I might ſee Emilius, leading at his chariot wheels, a train of kings, preceded by their riches: then, ſhould I, with tranſport, give thee thoſe titles, which thou hadſt arrogated to thyſelf. I applaud thy fortune, that fortune, of which thou waſt, in former ages, ſo vain, and to which thou haſt gloried in attributing power, rather than to thy barbarous infancy, thy unſettled laws, thy tempeſtuous government, and even thy vertues, which were never more celebrated than in thoſe miſerable times, when thou hadſt only preceptors, in the place of heroes. *(e)*

From

(e) Proinde ab hoc orſurus aliquis initio..... ipſos in teſtimonium vocaverit Romanos, ut qui plus fortunæ quam virtuti refulerint. (Plut. de fort. Rom.)

This little treatiſe, by Plutarch, is worth reading. It will, there, be ſeen that, excluſive of ſome ſuperſtitious ideas, his opinions concerning the Roman affairs are, apparently, like thoſe, which we have preſumed to advance. Now, as Plutarch cannot be ſuſpected of having

From the conqueſt of Carthage, Rome aroſe the miſtreſs of the whole world: from that period, what power could have oppoſed her? Could Philip, Antiochus, or Perſius, ſurrounded as they were by jealous neighbouring ſtates, and kings who were their enemies, have amuſed themſelves with the hopes of doing more than Carthage did? It is, at this period, in particular, that the fortune of the Romans becomes ſo conſpicuous. Rome, triumphant, or rather entering into the poſſeſſion of riches, might have ſunk into effeminacy; affluence might have introduced luxury; to luxury might have ſucceeded jealouſies amongſt the citizens, and theſe jealouſies would, in their turn, have brought on troubles, and civil diſcord: ſome few years of repoſe would have given birth to all theſe

having treated with injuſtice, the Romans, on whom he hath laviſhly beſtowed the moſt flattering encomiums, there is reaſon to believe that theſe ſentiments were not offenſive to them. It is well known that the Roman emperors were accuſtomed to place in their own chamber, a golden ſtatue, repreſenting fortune. Marcus Aurelius, perceiving himſelf at the point of death, ordered this ſtatue to be carried to his ſucceſſor; and this action was ſuppoſed to be the ſignal of his renunciation of the empire.

theſe evils: but the bad policy of Philip, and the preſumption of Antiochus, preſerved the Romans from this danger. Inſtead of temporiſing, inſtead of raiſing, as it were, a bank to repel the torrent, theſe two princes were ſo raſh as to turn their arms againſt a people, inured to war, by a long ſeries of military operations, and elevated with the moſt ſignal ſucceſſes. This was a madneſs, ſo ſtrikingly marked, as almoſt to render an enquiry into the motives of it diſguſting: but as true philoſophy doth not deem it a ſufficient intelligence, if ſhe diſcover the miſtakes of human nature, nor reſt till ſhe hath ſeen from whence thoſe miſtakes ſprang, we ſhall riſque ſome reflections, on the cauſes of theſe ſingular events.

It cannot be denied, that whatſoever advantages Rome might, hitherto, have gained, ſhe nevertheleſs had not yet acquired any great eſtimation amongſt the Greeks. They ſaw all theſe exploits, in the light of wars between Barbarians, and were more accuſtomed to dwell on the expedition of Pyrrhus, than on the battle of Zama. One may even perceive that at the opening of the Macedonian war, the Romans had no allies, except the Etolians;

Etolians; a people hated, and diſcredited throughout all Greece; but who, notwithſtanding, attributed to themſelves, all the ſucceſs of the battle of Cynoſcephalus, and boaſted that they, alone, had triumphed over Philip. Pride, and a vain preſumption, were vices, peculiar to the Greeks, of thoſe times. There is every reaſon to imagine, that they did not begin to fear the power of the Romans, but in the moment, when they felt the fatal effects of it. As to Attalus, and Eumenes, his ſon, who aſſiſted the Romans, during the Macedonian and Syrian wars, they can only be regarded as the kings of fortune. Wavering and ill-eſtabliſhed, but, above all, exceedingly jealous of the great, neighbouring monarchies, they perceived no danger in ſeconding a republic, from whom they conjectured that they had leſs to fear, than to hope.

In the midſt of theſe riſing, or expiring monarchies; in the midſt of the convulſions with which thoſe new empires, the relics of the power of Alexander, were inceſſantly agitated, the Grecian republics, too weak, too diſunited, to exiſt merely by their own power, did not fail to add a conſiderable

force

force to the party, which they embraced. They were weights, which ſerved to adjuſt the ballance, and which, perpetually, paſſed from one ſcale into the other ſcale: and yet, lulled by the remembrance of liberty and independency, they extended their open arms to the firſt ſtate, which preſented to them a picture of theſe bleſſings. Now, the Romans having made a proclamation, which was delivered by Quintus Flaminius, of their intention to reſtore Greece to her freedom, and to deliver all the cities, from the burden of foreign garriſons, the Greeks were ſuch dupes, as to ſuppoſe that the whole face of their country would be changed, and that Rome would aſſiſt them, in the total abolition of arbitrary power. It is, indeed, well deſerving our notice, that, prior to the conqueſts of Alexander, deſpotiſm was unknown in Europe, except in the neighbourhood of the Perſians. It, then, ſallied forth, at once, from the midſt of the Grecian army; but unattended, either by the antiquity of empires, or the long anceſtry of royal houſes, the uſual ſupport of authority, its reign was conſtantly precarious, nor had it, yet, acquired any ſtability. The people, therefore, returned

returned to their liberty, as to their natural condition. The ſnare laid by the Romans, to entrap this moſt enlightened quarter of the world was, indeed, terrible; and this apparent beneficence had no other effect, than to break down all covenants, all bonds, and all political ſyſtems, amidſt theſe unfortunate people, who, now, in exchange for the ſweet ſentiments of liberty, felt nothing but the conviction of their own weakneſs.

The Greeks had, undoubtedly acted more prudently, if, in order to prevent the Romans from riſing, at their ſide, to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, they had united themſelves, firmly, to each other, or even formed an alliance with Philip: but the members of ſmall republics, in which the ſpirit of party, uſurps the place of the ſpirit of patriotiſm, chuſe rather to periſh with their enemies, than to yield to them the moſt inſignificant advantage. There was no tyrant whatſoever, whom a faction would not have preferred to the chief of an oppoſite faction: and the confederacy of the Achaians, who were not apprehenſive of the conſequences of calling Philip to their aſſiſtance, when the intended war againſt the Etolians was in agitation,

tation, deſerted Perſius, when it became neceſſary to oppoſe the Romans. As to Antiochus, his preſumption, his Aſiatic pride, the diſtance at which he, ſtill, viewed the forces of the Romans, and above all, the ſeeds of diſcontent which he ſowed amongſt the Rhodians, were the cauſes of his ruin. I ſhall ſay nothing of Perſius, ſince that prince aſcended the throne, involved in ſuch unhappy circumſtances, as to have felt no alternative between war and bondage. Thus, whatſoever ill ſucceſs, he had reaſon to expect from his enterpriſes, they were, notwithſtanding, become neceſſary.

Such were the errors in policy, which cleared the path, along which the Romans were to paſs, ere they arrived at univerſal monarchy. We have obſerved this people, giving laws to Europe, to Aſia, and to Africa; but, like thoſe emiſſaries who, previous to the breaking out of war, are ſent to fathom the deſigns of princes, to examine into the ſtate of their forces, and diſcover what ſupplies may be expected from them, we have traverſed the whole world, that we might form a juſter idea of the enterprizes of the Romans, and of the reaſons of their ſucceſs;

ceſs: in this reſpect, we have purſued a plan, far different from that plan adopted by thoſe writers, who have limited all their reſearches to the ſtudy of the Roman laws, and who may be compared to thoſe inactive citizens, whom Paulus Æmilius upbraided with idly diſcuſſing, in the forum, the poſture of affairs, and contenting themſelves, in the moment, when the conſul was departing on ſome important expedition, with merely attending him to the gates of Rome, and wiſhing him a fortunate ſucceſs.*(f)* From the reſult of our reflections, we derive a conviction that the principles of the Roman power, exiſted rather beyond, than within this celebrated republic. Let us, now, examine the effects of the Roman government, in its more immediate relation to its own particulars, and the influence which it poſſeſſed over the fortune of other nations.

CHAP.

(f) Examine the oration, which Plutarch makes Paulus Emilius deliver, on his departure for Macedon. It is a curious paſſage, and capable of diminiſhing the opinion, which may have been conceived of the Romans in thoſe times.

CHAP. VI.

The influence of the Roman government over the happineſs of the people: the condition of the Romans till the time of Cæſar.

THE title of this chapter ſufficiently intimates, that the conqueſts of the Romans, and even their heroic vertues, are, no longer to be the objects of our attention. Were the people happy? was it fortunate to live at Rome? ſuch are the queſtions, which we muſt now reſolve, as if we were in the place of Lucumo(g) or Appius, when theſe two ſtrangers came to eſtabliſh themſelves in this city.

(g) "*Afterwards, Lucius Tarquinius Priſcus.*"

It is needleſs to declare, that we ſhall not conſider this queſtion, relatively to the paſſions and manners of our contemporaries. Were it even to be proved, that the condition of the Romans did not appear to merit the envy of the French, or the Engliſh, it would not, therefore, follow, that this condition was, in itſelf, unhappy. In fact, whatſoever inclination we may have, to refer every thing to our own peculiar ideas, we have been long ſince accuſtomed to the admiſſion of ſome particular ſuppoſitions, by which, we are contented to regulate the feelings of our mind! thus, frequently, a philoſophical and paſſive ſpectator bears a part in the frenzy of Seide, or the enthuſiaſm of Polieuctes: but there is ſomething more than this; there are certain generalities, certain marks, by which, the condition of a nation is manifeſted in the abſtract. As groaning is a ſign of pain; ſo complaints, debates, and quarrels, are proofs of the diſcontentment, and almoſt univerſal miſery of the people: and without alluding to civil wars, famine, contagion, and the like calamities; is not the ferocity of individuals, a conſtant ſymptom of habitual ſufferings? nothing,

thing, therefore, prevents us from judging of the antients, as we ſhould judge of each other; neither are we precluded from the application of theſe great objects, to the moſt known principles of morality and politics. But, amidſt ſo many revolutions, and ſuch a multitude of alterations, made in the forms of the Roman government, how can we, poſſibly, advance an opinion concerning it, with any degree of preciſion, unleſs we divide its hiſtory into ſeveral epochas?

From the foundation of Rome, to the expulſion of the kings, may be included a period of about two hundred and forty years; from the expulſion of the kings, to the entire conqueſt of Italy, may be allowed the ſame ſpace of time; from the firſt Punic war, to the deſtruction of Carthage, may be reckoned at about one hundred and twenty years; and from that event, to the ſubverſion of the republic, about fifty, or ſixty years, at the moſt,(*b*) theſe four different epochas muſt

(*b*) If I miſtake not, the baniſhment of Tarquin, and the total deſtruction of the regal power were effected in the two hundred and forty-fifth year of Rome; Italy was entirely conquered in the year 489. Carthage was

ſerve us, as four different points of view, in which, we may behold the Roman people. We only intreat the reader to be ſatisfied, although we ſhould not call theſe epochas, the four ages of the republic. He will, doubtleſs, diſpenſe with our diſtinguiſhing its infancy, its youth, its manhood, and its old age. All this inſignificance of low rhetoric, and bad policy, could tend to no uſeful purpoſe, except a demonſtration of the too general abuſe of words, and the influence, which language may poſſeſs over opinions. In fact, as ſoon as men became ſo weak, as to eſteem the frivolous flights of intellects, which are more ſubtle, than penetrating, they were, by degrees, accuſtomed to affix to them ſome meaning; and they no longer conſidered republics, or, even governments, but as kinds of phyſical beings, whoſe diſeaſes, habitudes, regimen, &c. it was neceſſary to examine. The reaſon of all this,

was overthrown in 621; and the republic was extinguiſhed in 706. It was not neceſſary for the ingenious and elegant author to write with the preciſion of an arithmetician. It is rather the philoſopher, and friend of human nature, than the formal chronologiſt, who, to communicate his reſearches with the greater perſpicuity to the reader, divides this period into four æras. K.

this, is, that nothing exercises and fatigues the mind more than abstraction; and that this act of withdrawing some part of the idea from the other parts of it, hath need of supporting itself on sensible circumstances. Hence, it is, that the language of argument is, constantly, on the point of running out into a figurative stile; a stile, equally vicious and incorrect, of which, allegory is the worst abuse. Thus, it may be observed, that the more ignorant and unpolished a nation is, the more its language abounds with metaphors and comparisons. They are the artful expedients of the mind, to elude that exact definition, which so frequently baffles all her powers. Are the principles of a republic to be unfolded? it is compared to a living being. Are the properties of a just man to be explained? He is likened to a republic. Thus, are we, incessantly, turning round, within a circle of errors, where every thing meets with its resemblance, and where nothing is decisive.(i) But it is not sufficient

(i) Plato, in writing his treatise on a republic, seems to have had no object in view, except the teaching us in what justice consisted. He compares man to a republic,

to condemn, and avoid theſe abuſes, introduced before our time, it may, perhaps, be neceſſary to open, for ourſelves, new roads; and ſince we muſt diſcover ſome means, of aſcertaining the ſpirit of the different political conſtitutions, it might not, probably, be improper to conſider, whether, inſtead of fixing our whole attention on laws, and inſtitutions, which are, frequently, the effect of chance,

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public, in which reaſon is the monarch, and where the paſſions form the common people. To this ſubtle idea, we owe thoſe ingenious extravagancies, which ſome modern authors are, ſtill, now and then, reviving, to the diſgrace of philoſophy! as to the reſt, Plato was not always ſo allegorical; nor hath he, at times, been above deſcending into exact definitions. Diogenes Laertius obſerves, that he made the excellence of government conſiſt in three circumſtances. Firſt, in the goodneſs of the laws; ſecondly, in the obedience, which the people paid to theſe laws; and thirdly, in the exiſtence of ſuch cuſtoms, and rules, as were able to ſupply any defect in the laws. In like manner, to diſcover the vices in a government, Plato propoſed the examination of three things, in particular; firſt, if the laws were not ſerviceable, either to the ſubject-inhabitants of the kingdom, or to foreigners; ſecondly, if theſe laws may be tranſgreſſed with impunity; thirdly, if there be no laws, and if tyranny, ſolely, predominate in the ſtate. There may be leſs of ingenuity in this, but it is much more intelligible.

chance, it were not better to employ ourſelves, particularly, in the inveſtigation of thoſe circumſtances, under which, a people may have formed themſelves, and in an enquiry, concerning the character and intereſts peculiar to mankind, in the moment when they entered into a ſociety, and had enacted their laws. In fact, the people muſt have exiſted prior to the eſtabliſhment of laws; and the founders, either of republics, or of empires, could, ſcarcely, have been, all, in the ſame poſition, when they had ſettled their forms of government. Now, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that, theſe firſt moments threw a very conſiderable influence over the future; ſo much, indeed, that one might propoſe this political problem: from the given circumſtances, attending the eſtabliſhment of a people, find out the appertaining ſpirit and character(*k*). Thus, for inſtance, one might

(*k*) I cannot determine whether this obſervation hath been neglected by political authors, or whether I have never been ſtricken with it, in any part of their works: but I have a particular pleaſure, in paying a tribute of applauſe to the writer, to whom I am indebted for it. I mean the author of l'hiſtoire politique du gouvernement Romain.

be convinced, that, whatever modifications were deſigned to have been introduced, amongſt the governments of Tyre, Sparta, and Athens, the ſpirit of commerce ought to have reigned in the firſt, the ſpirit of equality, in the ſecond, and the ſpirit of independance, in the third. *(l)*

This

(l) I cannot diſpenſe with obſerving, in this place, that the above cited idea, differs, widely, from the maxim, advanced by Machiavel, in his diſcourſe on Livy. He, there, aſſerts, that, to enable a ſtate to exiſt, for any long period, it is neceſſary to call it, frequently, back to the firſt principles of its conſtitution. It appears to me that almoſt every ſtate hath been eſtabliſhed in circumſtances, quite oppoſite to thoſe circumſtances, in which, in proceſs of time, it became involved; and that, therefore, it would be uſeleſs, and even detrimental, to have recourſe to ſuch a remedy; every alteration in a ſtate is not a certain ſign of the corruption of the people. The variations introduced by particular circumſtances, may, and, even, ought to have a great influence upon the government. A barbarous and unpoliſhed nation may become commercial, and engaged in agriculture; whilſt a commercial nation may grow warlike. It is, therefore, highly neceſſary, amidſt theſe changes of government to diſtinguiſh with preciſion, that which appertains to the nature of things, and that which relates to the corruption of mankind. Idleneſs, pride, and diſobedience are certain marks of corruption; but the changes of fortune,

new

This method of conſidering our ſubject, ſeems to throw it into a new, and more perſpicuous light. But, amidſt the different applications, in which we might employ it, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the Romans, and examine under what circumſtances, their firſt legiſlation endeavoured to give ſome form to the ſtate.

Let

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new pretenſions, and alterations in ranks, and dignities, flow not from the ſame principle. At Rome, for inſtance, a Plebeian might ſtand for the conſulſhip, and yet the republic would not have been corrupted: and in like manner, at London, a merchant might ſit in the houſe of commons, without any diſparagement to the nation. At Rome, the perpetuity of families, the honours conferred in time of war, vertues, and manners, ſoon raiſed the conſequence of the Plebeians. At London, the ſpirit of commerce hath rendered the merchant, as important as the man of quality. The Plebeian, in the time of Canuleius, could not have been compared to the Plebeian in the time of Valerius; neither is there any reſemblance between the modern merchant of London, and the merchant in the reign of Edward the third: now, to have pretended, at a particular criſis, to have brought back a ſtate, to its firſt principles, would, if at Rome, have reduced a powerful and reſpectable people, to their original miſery, and debaſement; and, if in England, it would have eſtabliſhed a feodal government, in the place of a government, founded on property, and equal repreſentation;

Let us recollect what hath been obſerved, in the preceding chapter, and we ſhall perceive that, according to all appearance, Romulus was but an adventurer, of whom Numitor availed himſelf, to be revenged on Amulius, and who ſoon afterwards was, in his turn, ſo ſuſpected by Numitor, that this prince knew of no circumſtance, which he, ſo eagerly, deſired, as the immediate opportunity of getting rid of him, by furniſhing him with means, wherewith to eſtabliſh a colony. Romulus, therefore, aſſembled ſome young men, belonging to the city of Alba, with whom he joined thoſe adventurers, who choſe

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tion; we muſt enquire, then, firſt, what hath been the character of a nation, at the time of its eſtabliſhment. Secondly, what influence this national character had upon the conſtitution of the ſtate. Thirdly, if the firſt cuſtoms, and primitive laws are ſo good, as to merit the being preſerved, or if the alterations in circumſtances have drawn them into the legiſlation. It is in this laſt caſe, that the original, and, primitive character of a nation, may find itſelf acting in oppoſition to its intereſts; and then great care muſt be taken, leſt it be led back to its firſt principles: it is even neceſſary to ſuffer them to be obliterated, as much as poſſible, for fear that the people, always willing to become, again, what they had been, might never prove what they ought to be.

choſe to offer themſelves. Amongſt theſe laſt were ſome individuals, whoſe birth, or affluence entitled them to a ſuperior diſtinction; they were ſeparated from the lower claſs of the people, and united with the chief of the Albans; they conſtituted the body of Patricians. No ſovereign, who doth not eſtabliſh his power, either by force of arms, or by ſome particular revolution, can become arbitrary. It was, therefore, the duty of Romulus, to pay the greateſt attention to the principal members of his colony. From hence, aroſe that ſpirit of ariſtocracy, and that characteriſtic of fierceneſs, which it always preſerved. A colony eſtabliſhed, without any regard to commerce and induſtry, muſt of courſe be driven into acts of plunder; from plunder ariſe repriſals; and repriſals render a ſtate of war neceſſary, and habitual. From hence, may be derived the firſt interior arrangement of the city of Rome: from hence, proceeded the plan of throwing the Roman people into the form of a legion; a form, the beſt adapted to their ſituation, at that period, when the women were ſo few in number, within this infant colony,

colony, that it might be conſidered as a little army.

The firſt want, of which a warlike colony becomes ſenſible, is the want of population. As pillage is more attended to than the cultivation of the earth, and war more purſued than commerce, ſoldiers are more neceſſary than ſlaves; hence, ariſes the principle of putting no individual to the ſword, and of reducing no enemy into captivity, who delivers up his arms; a principle, which merits the ſtricteſt attention, ſince it may be conſidered, as the ſource of all the ſucceſs, which waited upon the Romans.

A colony, expoſed to the dangers of war, ſhould always be prepared for battle; nor can it diſpenſe with keeping its members, as nearly collected together, as poſſible. From hence, proceed a limitation of eſtates, and the neceſſity of confining the heads of families to the cultivation of, only, a ſmall portion of land. This neceſſity gives birth to frugality; and frugality introduces auſterity of manners, &c.

A colony, in which, about the time of its eſtabliſhment, the number of women was extremely inconſiderable, and conquered, alſo,

by

by the power of the ſword, would, of courſe, reduce theſe women into a ſubjection to the moſt rigorous laws; nor would the children be exempted from the ſame ſevere regulations.(m) From hence, may be derived, that cruel

(m) It is certain that the wives were puniſhed with death, for the ſlighteſt offences: for example, if they had drunk wine. Fathers enjoyed the power of life and death over their children, and this barbarous authority included a right to ſell them, as ſlaves. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius hath obſerved, that all legiſlators have thought it proper, to fix the length of time, during which, the children were to remain ſubject to paternal authority; that the entrance into the age of puberty was the period appointed by ſome legiſlators, for their enfranchiſement; whilſt others had determined that they ſhould receive it, on the inſtant of their marriage: but that the Romans, more wiſe than all the reſt of the world, had appointed no particular limits to this authority.

The inhuman cuſtom, which Lycurgus eſtabliſhed at Sparta, was adopted by Romulus, with only one ſoftening reſtriction. The latter, inſtead of permitting the Romans to expoſe their weak and deformed children, in the firſt moments of their exiſtence, gave orders, that they ſhould be preſerved, during three years; as in that interval, either receiving health and ſtrength, their limbs might knit themſelves into better proportion; or, their parents might acquire an affection for them, which they were too unnatural to feel before. Although this law was confirmed by the laws of the twelve tables, it was,

cruel authority, exercised by husbands over their wives, and, even, by fathers over their offspring. The power of fathers is, always, more sharp, and more absolute than the power of mothers. A mother may be considered as the chief moderatrix of paternal despotism.

Such are the observations, which the Roman people, in their infant state, naturally, suggest to us. However inconsiderable the number

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was, yet, too frequently, transgressed: it would be natural to imagine, that paternal authority, so barbarously exerted, must have extinguished all traces of filial piety; but Rome abounded with striking instances of the prevalence of this vertue; and, as a proof, that the severity of those laws, to which the wives were subject, was kept inactive, by their exemplary behaviour, let it be remembered, that more than four ages had elapsed, when Carvilius Ruga, by repudiating his wife, occasioned the very first divorce. K.

It had not the appearance of a modern separation. The chastity of the fair Roman was unsullied by suspicion. Sterility, a misfortune, but not a crime, was all the husband could alledge against her; it was usual for the citizens to swear that they married, with the view of having children. Respect for the oath which he had taken, alone, induced Carvilius to dissolve the union. The motive was, at least, plausible; and yet all Rome beheld him, during the remainder of his life, with indignation. K.

number of theſe coloniſts may be, they, notwithſtanding, afford us an ample intimation, that they were deſtined to prove, conſtantly, ambitious in their projects, fierce in their modes of government, and ferocious in their manners. However, the admiſſion of the Sabines, into the city of Rome; however the peaceable reign of a foreign legiſlator,(n) who attempted, with the aſſiſtance of religion, and the laws, to ſoften the manners of a barbarous people; and however, the more ſplendid reign of another foreigner,(o) who extricated the Romans, from their groveling ſituation, by providing for their earlieſt, and moſt eſſential wants, may have, ſomewhat, modified their original characteriſtic, we are, ſtill, certain of tracing it, from the aſſaſſination of Camillus, down to the proſcriptions of Sylla.

But, were it even true, that the vertues of infant Rome had ſo far prevailed over her vices, that happineſs may be ſaid to have reſided within her firſt cottages, what conſequences can be drawn from hence, conducive to the welfare of mankind? would it follow

(n) Numa Pompilius.
(o) Tarquin, the elder.

follow that the people muſt, generally, enjoy the greateſt ſhare of felicity, in a newly-riſing ſtate? but the beginnings of empires are, only as moments, in the ſeries of ages; and the object of a good government ſhould be to give permanence to public happineſs. Rome, inceſſantly, engaged in battles, that ſhe might procure ſome ſheaves of corns; Rome, at once, a ſtranger to the tranquility of ſocial life, and the activity of induſtry; Rome, ſtill poor, ſtill deſtitute of power, doth not preſent to our view a very flattering proſpect? and what, at the bottom, could the common people be, who ſuffered themſelves to be governed, during the ſpace of eight days, by a king,(p) already, in his grave, a prey to worms; who, at length, received from a female hand, a ſlave for their monarch; and who, ſoon afterwards, became victims to a deteſtable tyrant, from whoſe yoke, they, perhaps, could never have been freed, if the ſenſe of honour, had not been more

(p) Tanaquilla, the wife of Tarquin the elder, thought it proper to conceal the death of this prince, until Servius Tullius ſhould have fixed his plan to ſucceed him. Servius Tullius was born a ſlave.

more violent, than the ſenſe of liberty? and, let it not be imagined, that a certain eaſe of life, a kind of fatisfaction which ſprings from an equality of fortunes, could have indemnified the Romans for what they might have felt from other quarters, ſince the miſery of the people, the tyranny of the rich, the rigour of impoſitions, and the weight of uſury had, all, riſen to exceſs, from the time of Servius Tullius.(*q*) It muſt be confeſſed, therefore, that this firſt epocha of the government of kings doth no where afford us a picture of happineſs.

In the ſucceeding times, we ſhall, probably, perceive more grandeur than happineſs; more vertue than conſolation. Their kings had, ſcarcely, been expelled, when a cruel war was kindled to accompliſh their reeſtabliſhment. Inſpite of her victories, gained at the lake Regillus, Rome perceived her

(*q*) See the oration, in which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius ſuppoſes this king to have declared to the Roman people, that, by ordering a general Cenſus, he only meant to diſtribute lands amongſt thoſe, who had none, and to remedy the bad effects of uſury, which is a natural conſequence of the difficulty attending the payment of taxes.

enemies encamped upon the Mons Janiculus; and nothing but the intrepidity of a ſingle man effected the preſervation of all.(r) The death of Tarquin, indeed, diſſipated the alarms of the new republic; but the people, in the room of one tyrant, whom they had loſt, found a thouſand tyrants, amidſt the Patricians. Were I deſirous of fixing an opinion, concerning the happineſs of the Romans, during this epocha, I ſhould not aſk for any aſſiſtance, except the peruſal of the marginal notes of Livy; they would furniſh us, ſolely, with inſtances, either of exterior wars, or of interior troubles; theſe laſt were

(r) It may eaſily be gueſſed, that I mean Horatius Cocles. As to the ſtory of Mutius Scævola, I ſhall allude to it, in this note, for no other reaſon, than that I may remark, how greatly a taſte for the marvellous ſtill prevails among us. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius makes no mention of this ſingular action of Mutius, who burns his hand, in atteſtation of a falſehood; but the fact is extraordinary, and we ſeem ſo much more pleaſed to follow Livy, than Dionyſius, that we do not give ourſelves the trouble, to obſerve the difference ſo remarkable between the narratives of the two authors. Mr. de Pouilli, in his learned work, entitled "Diſſertation ſur l'incertitude de l'hiſtoire des quatre premiers ſiecles de Rome," proves that this account of Scævola was an imitation of the recital of a ſimilar tranſaction, taken from a Greek hiſtorian.

were ſtill more terrible than their battles, becauſe war was eſteemed a remedy for, or, at leaſt, an allevation of the public misfortunes. How deplorable muſt that condition have proved, in which this ſcourge became deſirable; in which, the tears of the people could not have been dried up, until the ſtreams of human blood began to flow!

Amidſt theſe habitual evils, what calamities poured in from foreign quarters! the city taken by enemies, hitherto, unknown! a general ſcarcity of proviſions! contagions! miſeries of every kind!..... *(s)*

(s) My readers will, probably, be ſurpriſed, whilſt they obſerve me placing to the ſame account famine, and, particularly, contagions. Their aſtoniſhment would be juſt, were theſe calamities the effects of accident. It is well known, that the cultivation of the earth prevents famine, but it is no leſs certain, that it prevents diſeaſes: firſt, becauſe famines are the general ſources of epidemical diſorders: ſecondly, becauſe the air is the moſt wholſome, when the earth is in the beſt ſtate of cultivation: thirdly, becauſe peace, and plenty, furniſh the means of preſerving health, by uſeful eſtabliſhments, ſuch as aqueducts, common ſewers, neatneſs in houſes, and cloathing, a choice of aliment, ſalutary liquors, gardening, &c. Mr. Corbyn Morris, (in his "collection of bills of mortality," quarto) hath remarked, that ſince

But it will be ſaid ; " *what a terrible enumeration have we, here, of thoſe evils, which the Roman people ſuffered. You will the more eaſily reap an advantage from it, becauſe, misfortune being the common lot of humanity, the idea of that misfortune, is but too conſpicuous to the view of all mankind. But love for ones country, an attachment to the laws, and the enthuſiaſm of glory are all factitious paſſions, and, to be known, they muſt have been experienced. Thus, whilſt you give a looſe to theſe ſpeculations, you become more ſenſible of the miſery of the Romans, than of the happineſs, which they may have enjoyed ; and whilſt your mind compares, your too partial imagination turns the ſcale.*" ... Not to neglect this objection, let us enter more particularly into the ſubject.

The ſtrongeſt paſſion which hath been attributed to the Romans, is the love of glory. Let us, for a moment, adopt this general opinion, and endeavour to apply it to the welfare

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ſince the Engliſh have entered ſo much into gardening, the frequent epidemical diſorders, to which they gave the name of plagues, have been leſs common, and fatal, than they were before. . .

welfare of the people. We ſhall, doubtleſs, perceive a militia, trained up to war, continually, deſiring that they might be led on to conqueſt. The loweſt citizens, as they walked along the forum, would draw out the plan of operations, and fix the æra of victory. Even the moſt tender wives, the moſt timid mothers would catch the univerſal enthuſiaſm, and the people, intoxicated with ſucceſs, would eaſily forget their hardſhips.

How different is this repreſentation from the reality! let us no longer judge of Rome, by what hiſtorians tell us, but by what they teach us. Let us, in imagination, tranſport ourſelves into the heart of this city, and, there, perceive a ſorrowful, and unhappy populace trembling before the ſenate. Let us hear them implore this ſenate, at one moment, with ſighs, and at another moment with threats, that they would deign to grant them ſome acres of land, for their ſubſiſtance. Let us liſten to the cries of thoſe brave ſoldiers, who ſhew, amidſt their honourable ſcars, the diſgraceful marks of whips, and chains; unhappy wretches, thrown, without diſtinction, amongſt the meaneſt ſlaves, be-

cauſe they could not pay for the arms, with which they had pierced their enemies, and the bread, which they had eaten, on the day of battle !..... The gates open ; the ſenators appear ; their ſavage looks declare their projects ; a barbarous joy exults in every feature. What are they preparing to announce to the people ? the alleviation of the public calamities, tranquility, plenty ?..... No ; but, the enemy, tempted, either by the ſecret intrigues of the ſenate, or, by that confidence, which long diſſenſions could not have failed to inſpire, advances with haſty ſtrides, and will, ſoon, appear before the gates of the city. Already, the conſuls, ſeated in their Curule chairs, ſummon the young men to their tribunal. To-morrow, the enemy is to be attacked. The glory of repelling them may, perhaps, be bought with the blood of three thouſand citizens. Perhaps, too, this enemy may carry fire, and the ſword, even into the capital. But what doth it ſignify ? at this time, the Agrarian law ſhall not be proclaimed.

It is thus, that wars are kindled ; it is thus, that the love of glory intoxicates the Romans ;

mans; it is thus, that they march on towards the conqueſt of the world.(t)

But, what will be the iſſue of this war? ſome few equivocal ſucceſſes. The enemy will be repulſed, or, perhaps, retire of their own accord. However it be, the Romans will not think of profiting by the advantages which they may have gained over them: they will, purpoſely, avoid purſuing them into their own territories, and, ſoon, return to Rome, to demand bread from the ſenate.

(t) "Di modo che volendo Roma levare le cagion' de' tumulti levava ancora la cagion dell' ampliare."

Machiavelli de diſcorſi, liv. 2. pag. 20.

"Had Rome been willing to have removed the occaſion of the tumult, ſhe ſhould alſo have removed every occaſion capable of increaſing it. K.

Saint Auguſtin, (de civitate Dei, lib. 3. cap. 10.) after having deſcribed the continual wars, in which the Romans were engaged, makes a reflection ſomething ſimilar to that of Machiavel. Perhaps (ſays he) theſe continual wars were neceſſary to the aggrandizement of the Romans, but what individual would wiſh to acquire a gigantic ſtature, at the expence of his health? idonea verò cauſa ut magnum eſſet imperium, cur eſſe deberet inquietum? nonne in corporibus hominum ſatius eſt modicam ſtaturam cum ſanitate habere, quam ad molem aliquam giganteam perpetuis afflictionibus pervenire?

Another objection. . . . " The Romans, (it will be ſaid) were poor; true; but this poverty, far from being a misfortune, became a treaſure to them. Frugality was to them, a ſubſtitute for affluence, and as they had no wants, they were ignorant of the value of opulence."..... They were ignorant of the value of opulence? whence came it, then, that the Patricians had gotten poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to the people, by uſury, and of all the lands belonging to the republic, by fraud? why had theſe proud men ſuch vaſt eſtates, repleniſhed with thoſe, who were, at firſt, reduced to ſlavery, by the chance of war, and then, purchaſed, at a low rate, from the needy ſoldiers? why did they, by a hundred times, prefer driving the republic on the brink of its deſtruction, to the parting with a ſingle inch of their lands? why did they rather chuſe to offer the people a ſacrifice of rank magiſtracy, and even religion, (u) than

(u) None but the nobility enjoyed the privilege of taking the auſpices: for this reaſon, the ſpirit of ariſtocracy, and the ſpirit of ſuperſtition were inſeparable. We ſhall have occaſion, in the courſe of this work, to prove

than relinquiſh their riches? *(x)* It were needleſs to deny, that at Rome, the people were poor, and diſcontented, and the great, rich, and avaritious. Thus, in the midſt of troubles and revolutions, after the tyranny of the Decemvirs, the ravages of the Gauls, and the invaſion of Pyrrhus; after one hundred and fifty years, all ſpent in war, againſt the Æqui, the Volſcians, and the Etruſcans; after forty years of perpetual engagements, with the Samnites, Rome, conſtantly torn by diviſions and always poor, arrived, as we have already ſhewn, at the third epocha; that is, at the conqueſt of Italy, and the beginning of the firſt Punic war.

I muſt confeſs that this æra is not without its attractions. The ſame gloom no longer ſeems to hang about the picture of the Roman

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prove that, with ariſtocracy, all the religion of the Romans became extirpated; an opening was made for the ſects of Stoics, and Epicureans; and from hence, likewiſe, may we trace one of thoſe concealed paths, which led to the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity.

(x) It was only to avoid the Agrarian law, that the Patricians permitted the Lex Sicinia, and the Lex Licinia to paſs: by theſe, marriages and diviſions of magiſtracies between the Plebeians, and the Patricians, were permitted, for the firſt time.

man hiſtory. Civil diſcords are appeaſed, the moſt ſignal victories become the rewards of military toils, and Rome is beholden with awe, by nations beyond the bounds of Italy. Were authors to be conſulted, we ſhould read that this moment was the moment in which the ſucceſſes of the republic had not, yet, altered the vertues of its members. Rome, if we are to abide by our references to theſe hiſtorians, was already powerful, and hitherto uncorrupted. But, far from adopting ſuch an opinion, we ſhall, on the contrary, endeavour to form a more exact idea of the morals, and felicity of the Roman people.

The people, who can live upon a little, are not, therefore, happy; the Goths and Vandals lived upon a little, and yet, they marched, in ſearch of plenty, into other climates. The people, who are inured to toil and fatigue, are not, therefore, happy; the Goths and Vandals were inured to toil, and fatigue, and yet, they paſſed into other countries, in queſt of luxury and repoſe. The people, who are the moſt powerful in battle, are not, therefore, happy; they engage in battle, only, to obtain peace, and the conveniences

veniencies of life. The people, enjoying eaſe, and liberty; attached to their property; and, above all, deſiring no change of condition, are happy. Now, one proof that the Romans never partook of ſuch happineſs, is, that from the very firſt moment of their having known what riches were, they coveted them, with a degree of fury, and to that luſt, ſacrificed all their principles and manners.

In the four hundred, and thirteenth year, from her foundation Rome acquired the ſovereignty of Capua. Scarcely had the army taken up their quarters, in this country, ſo celebrated for its alluring productions, before the ſpirit of revolt invaded it. The ſoldiers ſpurned at the authority of their chiefs, and concerted a plan, whereby to eſtabliſh themſelves in Capua. What treaſons poured in at once! deſertions, breach of oaths, and contempt of military power! no conſideration, no circumſtance, however, could controul theſe men, ſo greedy after riches. The army is ſeparated; the precaution was uſeleſs: the greater part of the army, perſiſted in rebellion, and marched directly to Rome.

Shortly

Shortly afterwards, the city of Rhegium demands ſuccours from Rome. A legion is granted to them. How are theſe vertuous men employed? without any attention to the faith of treaties, and without the leaſt regard to hoſpitality, they maſſacre all the citizens, compel the widows to receive them, as their huſbands, and thus, take the poſſeſſion of this unhappy town: to ſuch an exceſs can beings of a ſavage mind be driven, by the irreſiſtable allurements of a life, in which every convenience might be enjoyed, with indolence! theſe two pictures will, ſufficiently, enable the reader to judge if the Romans were happy at Rome, and if they preferred their condition, to the condition of other nations.

The firſt Punic war plunged the republic once more into new troubles. In fact, although during the courſe of this war, Rome was more ſucceſsful, than unfortunate, yet the people did not receive from theſe advantages, a compenſation for the defeat of Regulus, and the loſs of their three fleets, which were either taken or ſunk. A victory, frequently, reſtores the poſſeſſion of a country,

try, which had been ſeized on, in conſequence of a former defeat; but never can it reſtore the huſband, to the widow, or the father, to the orphan. It is difficult to deſcribe a more ſhocking ſituation, than the ſituation, in which the republic found itſelf, after the firſt fifteen years of the Punic war. Not to mention the perpetual humiliations, which it underwent, the Cenſus of its citizens, diminiſhed almoſt to within one half, is an ample proof of the ſenſible loſſes, under which it laboured.

When Carthage became humbled, then, aroſe an uninterupted ſeries of good fortune, in which every ſucceſs was more ſplendid than the former; thus, the concluſion of our third period makes amends for the beginning. It was, then, that war appeared uſeful, becauſe the ſpoils of all the nations were regularly brought to Rome.(y) But, who profited

(y) Metellus hath been reproached, for having diſplayed, during his triumph, the ſtatues, and other works of art, which he brought from Syracuſe. No cenſure can be more frivolous. Why did the Romans fight? you will anſwer, to be the maſters of the world. And why, did they deſire to be the maſters of the world, but

fited by this plunder? firſt, the public treaſury, every thing having been carried either thither, or to the temples; next, ſome avaritious generals; and laſtly, the order of knights, who enjoyed no ſhare of theſe riches, until the duties had been ſettled. Now, all theſe conqueſts might, indeed, have produced to the Roman people, ſome public ſights, ſome feſtivals, and ſome games; but never did they ſcatter plenty amongſt the neceſſitous. An inſtance may be met with, in the hiſtory of the Gracchi. Tiberius, in his harangue from the tribunal, was not apprehenſive of exclaiming, thus: "the wild beaſts have caverns, and dens, whither they can retire, whilſt the citizens of Rome can neither find a roof, nor ſhed, beneath the covering of which, they might enjoy a ſhelter, from the inclemency of the weather; deprived of any ſettled reſidence, and precluded from any habitation, they wander, like unhappy outlaws, even within the boſom of their own country.

but to enjoy riches, arts, and every thing which renders life agreeable? To praiſe a people for their frugality, during their infant ſtate, is ſomething like commending a rich principal in office, for not having kept a coach, when he was, only, a poor deputy.

country. You are called the lords and masters of the universe. What lords! what masters! you! to whom they have not even left an inch of land, to serve you for a grave." . . . . . However exaggerated this picture may have been, the disturbance which it occasioned amongst the people, is a proof that it was not, absolutely, a faint resemblance, nor inapplicable to some of the citizens. Besides, it is well known, that riches, acquired without toil, and divided amongst a very small number of persons, introduce luxury, and corruption;(z) or rather, every thing is already corrupted, when luxury appears; for luxury is but an effect, erected into a principle. It comes not, until all order hath, already, been destroyed, and whether it arise from the inequality of circumstances, or whether it flow from the abuse of

(z) In the year 572, which was long before the ruin of Carthage, Caius Mænius, the prætor, was directed by the senate, to obtain a list of all the poisoners, which might be found either at Rome, or within ten miles of the place: at the end of some few days, this magistrate wrote word to the senate, that he had already discovered three thousand, and that the number seemed to increase, in proportion to his enquiries.

of affluence, it, conſtantly, maintains a ſuppoſition that, there are eaſy and rapid means of acquiring money, and that paſſions exiſt, which are equally contrary to decency and honeſty.

The opinion of all mankind, and the ſentiments of every age, exempt us from the neceſſity of levelling our cenſures againſt that epocha, which we had fixed upon, as the fourth epocha. No one can peruſe, without horror, the account of the revolutions, during the times of the Gracchi, of Marius, and of Sylla. We will turn aſide from the ſight of this fatal picture, and, at once, conclude with obſerving, that Rome hath not, in any of thoſe æras, into which we have directed our reſearches, enjoyed a meaſure of felicity, capable of making her condition envied, and her forms of government admired.*(a)*

CHAP.

(a) The gloomy ſadneſs, peculiar to the Romans, until the reign of Auguſtus, is another objection to their pretended happineſs. When Cato accuſed Murena, the bittereſt reproach, which he levelled at him, was his having danced. His advocate, Cicero, exclaimed againſt the cruelty of this allegation, and aſſerted, that it was impoſſible to impute to a man the crime of dancing, without

CHAP. VII.

The influence of the Roman government over the happineſs of all the different foreign ſtates. The ſituation of the world, at the æra of the ſubverſion of the republic.

IN proportion to the advances which we make, in our obſervations on the hiſtory of human kind, we perceive ourſelves more and more ſtricken with aſtoniſhment; not that we admire, with the multitude, that ſucceſſion

without ſuppoſing that he had, previous to the commiſſion of the act, given a looſe to intoxication, and every other kind of debauchery.

It may be, farther, obſerved, that the religion of the Romans was, conſtantly, as ferocious as their manners. After the battle of Cannæ, they thought it expedient to bury alive, a male and female Gaul, and a Grecian

of events, and that variety of ſcenes, which occupy the ſurface of our globe; but rather, becauſe, whilſt we were employed in this attempt, it became impoſſible for us, to ſacrifice to the ſtudy of facts, the ſublime contemplations of ancient nature, without being ſurpriſed, and even humbled, by the difference, which exiſts between the hiſtory of the world and the hiſtory of man. Here, we ſee

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cian man and woman, that the gods might be appeaſed. This abominable barbarity was, amongſt them, nothing more than cuſtomary. Beſides, religion was equally intolerant during the æra of ancient, and the æra of modern Rome. When the magiſtrate perceived, in the ſecond Punic war, that ſeveral new rites and ſome foreign modes of worſhip, had been introduced into the city, it was decreed, that all theſe forms ſhould be ſurrendered up to the prætor; nor was the obſervation of them, any more permitted. This intolerant ſpirit, not confined to religion, infected even literature. In the five hundred and ninety-firſt year, from the foundation of Rome, all the Rhetoricians were driven from the city. In the ſix hundred and ſixtyeth year, ſome Latin Rhetoricians, deſirous of eſtabliſhing ſchools, in conjunction with the Greek Rhetoricians, were forbidden to teach, whilſt theſe laſt were confirmed in their excluſive privileges. There is, indeed, but little reaſon to be aſtoniſhed at ſuch extravagancies, when we obſerve, in the "Teſtament politique," attributed to Cardinal de Richlieu, a miniſter gravely agitating this queſtion:

ſee the waters preparing the earth, which we are to cultivate, whether their ſlow retreat forms the different beds, of which it is compoſed, or whether their more rapid courſe marks out the vallies, and the mountains. Myriads of aquatic animals ſeem to have crouded, as it were, upon each other, to have exiſted, and to have periſhed in heaps, only to furniſh the materials, wherewith we raiſe

queſtion: "ſhould the care of public education, be committed, excluſively, to the Jeſuits, or to the Franciſcans?"

Such a queſtion might, naturally, proceed from the bigotted, and perſecuting Richlieu; but as he was not the author of the above-mentioned work, this abſurdity cannot, poſitively, be attributed to him. The "Teſtament politique" was written by another, who, to fix the reputation of his production, with the public, had ſheltered it under the name of the miniſter. Controverſial and religious tracts were the only papers, belonging to the cardinal, which were diſcovered, after his death. His niece the Dutcheſs d'Aguillon ordered theſe to be reviſed, corrected, and publiſhed. On politics, a ſubject which Richlieu always mentioned with great reſerve, he wrote nothing. In France, the death of a celebrated miniſter hath been as regularly followed by his political teſtament, as by his funeral. Colbert, Alberoni, and the Marſhal de Belliſle, were ſcarcely in their graves, when they aſtoniſhed us with ſentences, which, when living, they neither wrote, nor ſpoke. The teſtament of Belliſle was made by Chevrier. K.

our edifices; whilſt devouring fires, iſſuing from the entrails of the earth, have thrown into the cavities of the rocks, the metals neceſſary in the ſtructure of theſe works. There, piles of ſtones ariſe, like immenſe towers, whoſe heighth ſeems to command the univerſe: in one place, the enormous maſs aſtoniſhes by its irregularity; and in another place, by its perfect ſymmetry. Here, dreadful alluvions open a paſſage for the ocean, and conduct it into the midſt of the land. The black ſea breaks over its bounds, and forms the Archipelago of Greece, whilſt other inundations divide America into two diſtricts, and bear away, from it, the Antilles. Marine monſters lie buried on the tops of mountains. The vaſt ſize of the bones of the terreſtrial animals is a proof of the antiquity of their race, and points out the gradual degradation of the ſpecies, whilſt, at the ſame time, vegetation ſprings forward towards perfection, and ſeems to receive from man, a kind of new education.

Such are the magnificent objects, which the hiſtory of the world preſents to our view. What ſhall we diſcover in the hiſtory of mankind?

kind? facts imperfectly known, and yet, extremely recent. Thirty ages, at the moſt, form the domain of hiſtory: a ſmall number of dynaſtics, three, or four nations, celebrated by their conqueſts, compoſe, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſole titles of nobility, in the political world. Let us, however, run over this brief genealogy, and only conſider what, generally, concerns the ſituation of mankind.

We ſhall not pretend to examine, whether, as an ingenious author hath affected to prove, a deſpotic form of government drew its beginning from a principle of fear, which ſome revolutions, effected in different parts of the world, had infuſed into the human mind; or whether this government, patriarchial in its origin, be more natural to an indigenous people: it appears exceedingly certain, that a power, veſted in a ſingle man, ſubſiſted in Aſia, from time immemorial; whereas the firſt examples of a republican government, are to be met with amongſt newly-riſing colonies. We perceive, then, that from the firſt, the great monarchies appeared upon the theatre of the world, which was, then, con-

fined to Aſia, and to Ægypt. Several colonies ſettled themſelves, afterwards, in Aſia Minor, and in Greece; and theſe colonies having, in their turn, ſent out other colonies, the republican form of government, more ſuitable to men, living in a ſtate of equality, eaſily propagated itſelf in theſe new eſtabliſhments. Here, alſo, it introduced that proſperity, which ſo uſually attends its progreſs. Soon, this modern ſociety of men, different in their manners, and principles, contend with the ancient ſociety, and conquer: but an ambitious youth, already corrupted by his good fortune, prefers the manners of the vanquiſhed, to the manners of the victors. Incapable of raiſing himſelf to an equal rank with gods, he debaſes his ſubjects, below the condition of humanity, and thus, degrading his exploits, proves that it was, only, the deſpot, and not deſpotiſm, whom he was anxious to attack. The period, during which, mankind groaned under the laws of this ſenſeleſs maſter, was ſhort: but, at his deceaſe, conqueſts were ſo recent, the martial genius ſo predominant, and the intereſts of the conquerors, ſo cloſely connected with the ſyſtem

of

of oppreſſion, that military deſpotiſm was eaſily ſubſtituted in the place of hereditary deſpotiſm. Shortly afterwards, this government, which had been adopted by the Greeks, ran back from Aſia into Europe, and ſpread itſelf through Macedonia, Thrace, Illyrium, Epirus, &c. It was then, that liberty, driven towards the Weſt, took refuge at Carthage, and at Rome: but Rome, having quickly triumphed over her rival, her inſatiable ambition occaſioned the deſpotiſm of kings to be ſucceeded by the deſpotiſm of the people; and this tyranny was the moſt fatal of all tyrannies. Thus, in few words, may be peruſed the account of that ſmall number of general facts, with which hiſtory preſents us, and which lead us to ſuch reflexions, as compoſe the ſubject of this chapter.

The maxim, "il mondo invecchia, e invecchiando intriſtiſce," (that as the world grows old it becomes the more wicked) was but too true, during the epoch under our examination; but I do not ſuppoſe it applicable to the preſent times. The conqueſts of Alexander were, to mankind, a ſignal of depravation; before this period, the known world

was divided into two parts, one of which parts was filled with little flouriſhing republics, and the other part occupied by a vaſt, and ancient monarchy. On the one hand, proſperity was in the place of repoſe; and on the other hand, repoſe was in the place of proſperity. In this ſituation, the republics received, in the enjoyment of their liberty, amends for their perpetual diſſenſions; and the ſubjects of the great king felt a ſatiſfaction in the midſt of ſlavery, becauſe they had been long accuſtomed to tranquility. Alexander, in the courſe of ten years, altered the ſituation of all theſe people. He died in the arms of victory; and yet, ſcarcely were his eyes cloſed, when his generals waged, againſt each other, the moſt bloody wars. When nothing was left for the Macedonians to deſtroy, they mutually turned upon themſelves, and tore each other in pieces; like thoſe rats, the plagues of the North, which, covering whole countries, perpetually ravage the land, as they proceed, till, not finding any more ſubſiſtance, they devour one another. The univerſe was, indeed, revenged, but dear was the price of that revenge; all upon the ſurface of the globe was overthrown.

thrown. The republics preſerved only the vain appearance of liberty, which left them the vices of the government, without preſerving its advantages. Inquietude ſupplied the place of force. Factions became multiplied and irreconcileable. Yet all their diſputes were confined to their choice of tyrants. Shall the preference be given to the Seleucides, the Lagides, or the kings of Macedonia? to whom ſhall crowns be decreed, and whoſe ſtatues ſhall be thrown down?(b) ſuch is the ſubject of all their deliberations. And here, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that nothing can be more deplorable, and at the ſame time, more contemptible than republics in their decline. Their ancient cuſtoms ſeem to be new ſources of vice and ignominy. Their public councils become, henceforward, no better than the vulgar bawlings of the market, or the abuſive clamors, which prevail amongſt the meetings of the mob. The love of glory is extinguiſhed, and in its place, appear an empty

(b) The cuſtom of erecting ſtatues, through flattery, and then, throwing them down, that, in purſuance of the ſame principles, they might raiſe others in their places, became ſo common, that, at length, they were contented to ſaw off the head of a ſtatue and fix on the head of the new tyrant.

empty oſtentation, and a mean preſumption, which render theſe vices, thus odious in themſelves, ſo particularly ridiculous. They debate, they wrangle, and they threaten; at length, this farce performed, even by fellow-citizens, is interrupted on the arrival of an officer, belonging to a neighbouring deſpot, who comes to deliver the commands of his maſter. Then, their language undergoes a thorough alteration. They bend, they cringe, they promiſe every thing; and this ſlave, this inſtrument of the tyrant is conducted back, loaden with honours.

On the other hand, if any circumſtance can adminiſter conſolation to the people, who live under on abſolute government, it muſt ariſe from the conſideration, that ſuch a government is, at once, ancient and extenſive. In the firſt inſtance, mankind, always led by cuſtom and opinion, are eaſily induced to imagine that they who have governed them, during a long ſpace of time, have, effectively, a right to govern them: in the ſecond inſtance, deſpotiſm being, conſtantly and invariably, the work of force, the more the principle of this force is ſituated at a diſtance, the more is its activity impaired. Thus, ſeveral

veral provinces of the Ottoman empire, ſuch as Dalmatia, Tranſilvania, Boſnia, ſtill enjoy a kind of liberty.

Let us, then, call to our ideas, the fate of theſe vaſt regions of Aſia; when they found themſelves a prey to the firſt powerful warrior, who deſigned to invade them. I do not allude, merely, to Ptolemy, Caſſander, Antigonus, and Eumenes, ſtill ſhining with that luſtre which they had borrowed from Alexander; all the little uſurpers, who ſucceeded theſe princes, the kings of Bithynia, of Pergamus, of Cappadocia, of Pontus, &c. &c. muſt be included in the number. What motive, except fear, could have attached the people to ſuch a form of government? and, what motive, except avarice, could have attached the prince to the people?

It was, in ſimilar circumſtances that Rome, the ſovereign of Italy, and victorious in Africa, extended her ambitious views over the reſt of the world. Surely the blood of two millions of men, ſpilt in the ſecond Punic war,(c) and the yet recent recollection of the triumphs

(c) I have been at the pains of calculating the number of men, which (as hiſtorians inform us) periſhed

triumphs of Hannibal might have inſpired this nation with more pacific ſentiments. What a favourable moment! had they but known how to have turned it to their advantage! had ſome new Cyneas entered into the ſenate, and ſpoken thus: "If, conſcript fathers! at the time, when Romulus founded this city; or rather, when, after the expulſion of the kings, your generous anceſtors called

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riſhed in the different wars, waged by the Romans, from the five hundred, and thirty-third year, after the foundation of Rome, to the year 577; that is forty-four years. This number amounts to 959,846. But hiſtorians have mentioned many of theſe battles, without ſpecifying the loſſes on either ſide; ſo that one may add to this number, upwards of half as many more, at the leaſt, which will make, nearly, 1,400,000 men: to which add ſeveral fleets ſunk, and thoſe who periſhed, either through diſeaſe, or miſery, and the number will amount to more than two millions of men, all ſacrificed in war, during a ſpace of time, ſcarcely exceeding the length of life, uſually allotted to every human creature, and including only half of that portion of time which is called the age of man. It muſt be farther obſerved, that this loſs was by ſo much the greater, as it referred only to the free-men, who formed but a part of the general population. One may even preſume that a greater number of ſlaves, attending the ſervice of the army, underwent the ſame fate.

In

called you forth to the enjoyment of liberty, ſome divinely inſpired man had ariſen to declare to you, that the gods were reſolved to render this bleſſing perpetual, all your wiſhes would have been accompliſhed, and you muſt have ſuppoſed yourſelves the happieſt of mortals. But, with what rivulets of blood, have you not been conſtrained to purchaſe this ineſtimable felicity! How much time have you not ſpent in fighting to defend it, without ever preſuming that you could have reſerved it for yourſelves, unleſs you tore it from

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In theſe modern times when, as the poet ingeniouſly obſerves, we have "fitted murder to the rules of art," a military author aſſerts, that in a pitched battle every eighth man is either killed or wounded. If the fables, with which the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy is interwoven, have not much weakened its credibility, we may perceive what a multitude of the human ſpecies were ſacrificed during the few years continuance of a contemptible quarrel. In the war, between the Greeks and the Trojans, the former loſt eight hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand men; and the number of the ſlain, amongſt the latter, amounted to ſix hundred, and ſixty-ſix thouſand men. All this for Helen; the wife, or rather the proſtitute of five, at leaſt; who was enjoyed by Theſeus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, and Achilles; and who, at length, was hanged, in the iſle of Rhodes, by the maid ſervants of Polixo. K.

from your rivals? yet ſuch is the depravity of mankind, and ſuch, in particular, was the barbariſm of your neighbours, that, for a long period, to avoid oppreſſion, it became neceſſary that you ſhould oppreſs. I ſay, for a long period; becauſe there is a point, at which ſtates, ſtrong within themſelves, ſtand in no need of being aggrandized; then the ſpirit of conqueſt is no more than an abuſe of the ſpirit of preſervation. Thus, thoſe inflaming liquors, which are deſigned to reanimate our debilitated ſtrength, when taken to exceſs, infect us with illuſory wants, and whilſt they, always, ſeem to increaſe our vigour, lead only to annihilation. Be ſure, therefore, O citizens! that you are not arrived at this point of power, the paſſing of which, is often dangerous and conſtantly unjuſt: you are obeyed by Italy; Africa is humbled; and Aſia beholds you with reſpect: but Italy is depopulated; Africa is plunged in barbariſm; and Aſia groans beneath the yoke of ſlavery. Then, fertilize Italy, poliſh Africa, and give freedom to Aſia. This is, undoubtedly, your duty: nay, I will go farther; it is your intereſt: and thus I prove it.

I perceive

I perceive but two objects to which your desire of making conquests can extend: either, you wish to enjoy, to a certainty, a lasting repose, and, in the place of enemies, to possess only subjects; or you are anxious to become rich, and, in endeavouring to accomplish this point, you are ready to plunder all other nations. If it be the duration of peace which you are eager to obtain, why do you not acquire, solely by policy, that which you expect from force? Can you believe that two or three legions are sufficient to subdue the people of Taurus, and of Caucasus? do you suppose that your proconsuls can preserve, for the republic, this empire, which the generals of Alexander could not preserve for themselves? how will you maintain discipline amongst your troops? how will you confine an army, accustomed to pillage, within proper regulations? how will you fix the obedience of a consul, instructed to go beyond your orders? but you fear Antiochus; but you fear Philip. Shall I, instantly, supply you with formidable armies, to keep these princes in awe? restore to Greece her ancient forms: re-establish the republican government in all Asia Minor: Philip shall tremble,

tremble, even in Macedon; and Antiochus ſhall be driven towards the center of Aſia. You ſhall govern the world as you ſit within the ſenate; and, without throwing aſide your robes, you ſhall gain battles, in which, the earth ſhall not be drenched with the blood of the Romans.

Let us, now, ſuppoſe what, however, is far diſtant from my thoughts, that this fierce and warlike people, tired of the auſterities of life, ſhould demand from the univerſe the reward of their long labours. You, O Romans! may demand it. Your frugality and diſcipline may yet obtain for you that which will not fail to deſtroy both. Well then! be rich! I agree to it. But tell me; who will have a right to theſe riches? will they belong to the army, who bore them off? then, none, except the ſoldiers, could be happy, or opulent. Will they become the property of all the Roman people? but, if each citizen be rich, who will enliſt himſelf amongſt the legions? who will carry burdens? who will undergo long marches, and the fatigues of encampments? I foreſee your intentions: you will keep foreigners in pay, who may go to war, in your place. And, will you then be

rich

rich, whilſt others are becoming ſtrong? ſhall you continue free, whilſt others remain in arms? believe me, O Romans, if you are weary of your ancient ſimplicity; if you, particularly, wiſh to be in poſſeſſion of the fine arts, which ought to be the ſtudy of a great, and happy people, do not import ſtatues, but ſtatuaries; ſeize no more on pictures; but inſtruct painters. It is the enjoyment of our own workmanſhip, and not the enjoyment of the workmanſhip, which we may have taken from another, that proves ſo pleaſing. Let me aſſure you, that the bread made of the grain, which you may have ſown, will have a ſweeter reliſh, than bread made of the corn of Ægypt; and the marble, which may have been hewn out under your own inſpection, will be, in your imagination, a thouſand times more precious, than the maſterpieces of Phidias. Be then induſtrious, and politic cultivators; but above all, be juſt; for the order of the univerſe hath decreed, that the welfare of a ſmall part of mankind cannot long remain in oppoſition to the welfare of the whole."

I know not if ſuch a ſpeech was ever made in the ſenate; but the truths which it con-

tains, are ſo ſtriking, that the Romans, all intoxicated as they were with ſucceſs, did not ſeem abſolute ſtrangers to the leſſons, which it inculcates. After the battle of Cynocephalus, Quintus Flaminius proclaimed, throughout the cities of Greece, a decree of the Roman people, directing that they ſhould be reſtored to their liberty. The exceſſive joy, with which this news was received, muſt naturally embitter our regret, when we obſerve that this apparent beneficence was only granted for a moment, to caſt an additional horror, over the miſeries, with which Greece was ſhortly afterwards loaden. In fact, it was not long, before the maſk fell from the ferocious character of the Romans; and this implacable republic was ſeen to exerciſe a tyranny, till then, unknown.*(d)*

We have remarked, in the courſe of the preceding chapters, that the frequency of civil diſſenſions, amongſt the governments of ancient Greece, became one of the greateſt afflictions of humanity. We have obſerved that, whilſt theſe principal republics, namely, the

(d) Inter impotentes, et vallidos, falſò quieſcas. Ubi manû agitur, modeſtia, ac probitas nomina ſuperioris ſunt. Tacit. de. mor. Germ.

the republics of Athens, and of Sparta, interpoſed in the ſeveral diſputes, and altered, according to their pleaſure, the form of the government, ſuch innovations were conſtantly ſealed with the blood of a multitude of citizens. Theſe maſſacres, however, bore the appearance of acts of juſtice, inflicted by the prevailing faction, which, then, became the legiſlative authority; whilſt the vanquiſhed party was treated like a rebellious confederacy. The Romans adopted a different principle. They concluded themſelves to have been, apparently, born the maſters of the world; and, in conſequence of this ſuppoſition, they treated all other nations, not as conquered enemies, but as revolted ſubjects. This ſhocking principle, particularly, diſplayed itſelf in its blackeſt light, after the victory gained by Paulus Emilius.

Rhodes, a republic, flouriſhing with commerce, and with navigation; Rhodes, the precious remains of ancient Greece, perceived herſelf, becauſe ſhe had for a moment ceaſed from favouring the Romans, compelled to ſubmit to an inquiſition of their embaſſadors, and threatened with a total deſtruction. She had no method of avoiding

this calamity, but by putting to death every one of her citizens, who had voted againſt Rome. Shortly afterwards, Bæbius, the lieutenant of Paulus Emilius, hurried away by a particular hatred, which he had conceived againſt ſome of the Etolians, ordered five hundred and fifty of the chief perſons, amongſt this unhappy people, to be ſlaughtered. But theſe abominable tranſactions were only the prelude to a ſeries of cruelties, exerciſed by the Romans. The avarice and iniquity of individuals was ſoon blended with the barbarous maxims of the government. It is impoſſible to read the hiſtory of the war in Spain, without ſhuddering with horror. I do not, merely, allude to a Lucullus, who, introducing himſelf into a city, under the ſanction of articles of capitulation, violated the faith of treaties, and put twenty thouſand inhabitants to the ſword; nor to a Galba, who, deceiving a whole nation, by a pretended peace, contrived to collect them together, like a herd of deer, within a proper incloſure, and maſſacre every one; nor to an Aquileius, who, the more eaſily to deſtroy thoſe enemies, whom he durſt not encounter, was baſe enough to poiſon all the ſprings in the province:

vince: a tear of more affecting ſorrow trickles down my cheek, whilſt I reflect on Scipio, the wiſe, the illuſtrious Scipio, who ordered his executioners to cut off the hands of four hundred young men, belonging to the little city of Lutia, whoſe only guilt was, the having aſſiſted the Numantians, their allies.(e) No; to deny it, were a vain attempt. Such tranſgreſſions can never be ſtiled the crimes, either of a general, or of ſome few ſoldiers. A whole nation muſt have proved ferocious, to have been capable of producing

(e) The learned reader, whilſt he recollects the melancholy ſtory of the Numantians, muſt pay a tribute of admiration, to the intrepidity of a little band of heroes, whom multitudes were unable to ſubdue; and who had the vertue to prefer death, within the arms of their expiring liberty, to a life of ſlavery, beneath the tyranny of the Roman yoke. Although their number was confined to four thouſand men, yet they reſiſted, during fourteen years, the attacks of forty thouſand ſoldiers. At length, when the ſeverities of the famine, which raged within, had cut off every poſſibility of reſiſting the army, which endeavoured to deſtroy them, from without, they, nobly, raiſed a kind of funeral pile, with their effects, and caſting themſelves upon it, periſhed in the flames. The diſappointment of Scipio, who ſaw no monuments of the glory of his conqueſts, except the bare walls, and the aſhes of the dead, may account, but cannot apologize for his inhumanity. K.

ſuch execrable villains, as the inſtruments of their barbarity. And what heart, but muſt be melted, at perceiving, almoſt in the ſame inſtant, two ſplendid cities, two wonders of the world, Carthage, and Corinth, reduced to aſhes? in vain, did the paſt ages, in vain, did the whole world exert all their power, in the embelliſhment of theſe magnificent monuments of ancient felicity: *the majeſty of the Roman people* required that they ſhould be crumbled into duſt.*(f)*

Nevertheleſs, the proconſuls, and the greedy prætors carry off thoſe treaſures, which the fire and the ſword had ſpared. To have ſeen their warriors fall in battle; to have loſt their forms of government, and their freedom, were but trifling afflictions to the people; the weight of impoſitions was added to the weight of ſlavery. A barbarous uſury was practiſed by the extortioners themſelves: the governors, and the collectors of the taxes were like ſo many crows, diſputing about the carcaſes. But, if the oppreſſed univerſe cannot recover her ancient proſperity, at leaſt, let her derive ſome conſolation, from the hope

(f) Ecce quam feliciter Roma vincit, tam infeliciter quidquid extra Romam vincitur. Paul. Oros. l. 5.

hope of vengeance. O Mithridates! O Viriatus! delay no longer your appearance!(g) Aſia and Europe call upon you. Wait not, until theſe cruel conquerors ſhall have done juſtice on themſelves; for, ſoon, abject ſlaves, infamous gladiators, a Tryption, and a Spartacus, ſhall be ſubſtituted to Carthage, and Numantia; and if, at length, they diſappear, it will be only to give place to Marius, to

(g) The vertues, the abilities, and the fate of Mithridates are well known; but it is ſingular, that Ammianus Marcellinus ſhould have been the only hiſtorian (Appian not excepted, the unwearied collector of almoſt every circumſtance, relating to this unhappy prince) who hath recorded the peculiar conduct of Menophilus. When Manlius Priſcus, in obedience to the orders, which he received from Pompey, commanded this eunuch to throw open the gates of the caſtle, and, with himſelf, deliver up the daughter of Mithridates, he firſt, ſtabbed her, and then, plunged the dagger into his own boſom, determined that neither ſhould ſurvive the fortunes of his maſter. . . . . Viriatus, in the earlier part of life, exchanged the peaceable employments of a ſhepherd, for the more active toils of hunting? he, became, at length, a public robber, and by a natural gradation, roſe to the command of a formidable army. Ventidius, and Plancius fled before him; and Rome, beheld with terror, a chief, to whom all Portugal had ſubmitted, when the ſword of an aſſaſſin, by depriving him of life, accompliſhed that which the legions of the miſtreſs of the world had vainly ſtriven to effect. K.

Sylla, to Octavius, ... But I ſtop ſhort, and feel myſelf conſcious, that whilſt the object of my purſuit, is an enquiry into the condition of mankind, during this dreadful æra, I cannot, with ſuch circumſtances before me, ſupport the calmneſs, ſo requiſite in this diſcuſſion.*(b)* Muſt I, then, enter coldly into the detail of ſo many atrocious facts? and will it not be ſufficient to excite the indignation of every feeling reader, if he be told to recollect, that, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, Carthage, Corinth, Numantia, and Athens were deſtroyed? that, without mentioning millions of men, who were ſlaughtered in Spain, in Africa, and in Aſia;*(i)* the war of the ſlaves, in Italy, and Sicily only, was attended with the loſs of one million of men; and that, in Italy, excluſively, three hundred thouſand men, periſhed, during the war of the allies. Add to all this, proſcriptions,

(b) Cogit enim excedere propoſiti formam operis, erumpens animo, ac pectore indignatio. Velleius Paterculus. l. 2.

(i) It is well known, that Mithridates ordered a hundred and fifty thouſand Romans, found within his ſtate, to be deſtroyed on one day. This cruelty, all horrible as it appears, was yet no more than a repriſal for thoſe injuries, which he had received from the Romans.

tions and civil wars. Remember, alſo, that Cæſar boaſted of having either taken, or reduced eight hundred cities; ſubdued three hundred nations; engaged with three millions of men, a million of whom remained upon the field of battle, whilſt another million were throne into captivity. In ſhort, recall to mind, the wars of Numidia; the puniſhment of Jugurtha; kings ſunk into the condition of mere vaſſals; the people reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery; and you will, in few words, form an idea of the influence of the Roman people, over the happineſs of mankind.*(k)*

CHAP.

(k) Raptores orbis, poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuere terræ, et mare ſcrutantur: ſi locuples hoſtis eſt, avari, ſi pauper, ambitioſi; quos non oriens, non occidens ſatiaverit, ſoli omnium opes, atque inopiam pari affectu concupiſcunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falſis nominibus imperium, atque ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant. Tacit. vit. Agric.

CHAP. VIII.

Remarks on the ſtate of the Roman empire, under the reigns of Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſors.

I Have, hitherto, only pointed out thoſe horrible tragedies, thoſe times of murder, and of carnage, when Rome, torn by civil diſcords, avenged, herſelf, the cauſe of the conquered nations, but oppreſſed them ſtill more. This republic, at once victorious, and expiring, reſembled a ſick man, whoſe entrails are devoured by a burning fever, but whoſe arms, ſtill robuſt, receive from the criſis of his pain, a more energetic, and more dangerous force. Whilſt Cinna, and Marius were ſpilling the blood of the citizens, Sylla extirminated the inhabitants of Pontus, and

of

of Cappadocia; and whilſt Octavius, and Lepidus, under the ſanction of treaties, reciprocally ſacrificed their parents, and their friends,(l) Anthony annoyed the Parthians, and the Ægyptians, with his military forces. During this diſaſtrous epoch, the univerſe, every where, reſounded with the clamours of rage, and the ſighs of miſery. Could there have been a picture, more afflicting to humanity, and, at the ſame time, more replete with conſolations, for the preſent age? but as our aim is not ſo much to ſtir up the paſſions, as to aſcertain their progreſs, and eſtimate their conſequences, we ſhall not dwell upon facts, which the opinion of all mankind hath devoted to the horror of poſterity. It is not ſo neceſſary to turn the human mind aſide from the love of civil war, as from that vain enthuſiaſm of glory, that military, and conquering ſpirit, which only ſerves to ſharpen during

(l) Ne quid ulli ſanctum relinqueretur velut in dotem invitamentumque ſceleris, Antonius L. Cæſarem avunculum, Lepidus Paulum fratrem proſcripſerant. Nec Planco gratia defuit ad impetrandum, ut frater ejus Plancus Plautius proſcriberetur. Atque inter jocos militares qui currum Lepidi, Plancique ſecuti erant, inter execrationem civium uſurpabant hunc verſum: *de Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant Conſules.* Vell. Paterc.

during ſome time, thoſe arms, with which the citizens are deſtined, one day, to murder each other. May we have accompliſhed this object in the foregoing chapters. May we, in the chapters which are to follow, adhere, invariably, to that coolneſs of diſcuſſion, which can, alone, convince, and thoſe ingenuous ſentiments, which can, alone, perſuade!

A new queſtion courts our examination. We have perceived, that all legiſlators, having been employed rather in rendering mankind powerful, than happy, the ſeveral people were, in their turn, either ſlaves or uſurpers, without ever attaining to a permanent felicity. But, if the diverſity of laws, intereſts, manners, and cuſtoms, was an inſurmountable obſtacle to a general peace, could there have been a ſurer method of uniting men, than by throwing them all into a ſtate of ſubjection? could the repoſe of the world have been more firmly eſtabliſhed, than under an univerſal monarchy? This queſtion, in an age, when geography hath ſo enlarged the boundaries of the world, that we know of a ſingle kingdom, more populous, and more extenſive than the whole Roman empire, becomes abſurd; but it is a queſtion, which would have ſeemed

plauſible,

plauſible, in the times of Auguſtus and Tiberius: nay, were it not to be taken in its full extent, there would be reaſon to ſuppoſe, that ſome ſtreſs might have been laid upon it, even in more modern times. It is certain that Philip the ſecond never felt the neceſſity of drawing within his ambitious graſp, the empires of China, and of Ruſſia. Fixed as he was, upon the throne of England, by his marriage with Mary, could he have rendered France ſubject to his dominion, the houſe of Auſtria muſt have proved the miſtreſs of the whole chriſtian world; a ſovereignty, likely, in the end, to have included the ſovereignty of the univerſe. But Auguſtus found himſelf naturally ſituated in thoſe circumſtances, to which Philip would, willingly, have attained. If we except ſome barbarous nations, whom the Romans judged unworthy of being conquered, all the people, at that time known, were their tributaries, and Rome, become pacific, had baniſhed war from the ſurface of the earth. The good order of adminiſtration was re-eſtabliſhed; juſtice reſumed her rights; and the polite arts, more attached to tranquility and plenty, than to vertue and liberty, ſoon deſerted the porticos of Greece, to dwell within

within the court of a magnificent, and enlightened deſpot. The reign of this prince would, doubtleſs, have proved the happieſt æra for the Romans, could the beneficence of Auguſtus, have ſunk in oblivion, the cruelty of Octavius. In fact, the hands, which ſcattered favours, were ſtill tinged with blood; and the people, like ſoldiers, whom the fatigue of battle had overpowered with ſlumber, could only lie down to reſt upon an heap of carcaſes. But it muſt alſo be obſerved, that, on the one hand, the citizens of Rome, alone, felt their happineſs affected by this painful recollection; and that, on the other hand, the proſtitution into which theſe very citizens had fallen, at once, deprived them of all reſentment of injuries, and infected their minds with the meaneſt ſelf-intereſt, and the moſt abject propenſity to flattery. The individuals amongſt the Romans, who had reaſon to weep over the loſs of a father, or avenge the fate of a brother, enjoyed an ample ſatisfaction in the ſmiles of their prince, or in ſome empty title annexed to magiſtracy. Thus, the provinces rejoiced at this revolution of affairs, whilſt Rome no longer poſſeſſed the merit of feeling it with concern.

Tiberius

Tiberius, equally inferior to, equally unworthy of his predeceſſor, by his vices, and even his vertues, was, for ſome time, capable of putting into practice the leſſons which he had received from Auguſtus. The public happineſs met with no diſturbance, until the adminiſtration of Sejanus; and I am not ſurpriſed that ſo long a calm, before the breaking out of the political ſtorms, ſhould have given riſe to the ſuppoſition, that an univerſal monarchy, or, at leaſt, a monarchy, the extent, and preponderance of which, might be very great, would prove a particular advantage to mankind. Some authors, too fond of paradoxes, have even ventured to aſſert, that ſo conſtant a peace, had, ſufficiently, indemnified the Romans, for the barbarities of Claudius, Caligula, and Nero; becauſe that, in the times, when theſe monſters were glutting themſelves with the blood of the ſenators, the people, at leaſt, were happy and quiet. It would be eaſy to return them for anſwer, that, unleſs, by the word people, they mean what is commonly called the dregs of the people, that is, an abject mob, without property, and without abilities, it is exceedingly certain, that the Roman people underwent great

great ſufferings, during the reigns of thoſe tyrants, who filled up the ſpace, from Auguſtus to Veſpaſian. But, without dwelling on this particular queſtion, which, ſurely, could never have been agitated in earneſt, we will endeavour to eſtimate, as clearly as poſſible, that happineſs, which the Romans are imagined to have enjoyed, under their emperors.

To take in the full ſcope of our deſign, ſome idea ſhould be formed of the ſituation of the Romans, when Auguſtus, after the battle of Actium, remained the ſole maſter of all. Rome was no longer, as formerly, the cradle of the kings of the world. The families which were become illuſtrious, by the melancholy fate of nations, had already expiated their ancient, and guilty ſplendor; and the inheritors of the moſt celebrated names had yielded up their necks to the executioners. Freed-men, or Burgeſſes,*(m)* iſſuing

(m) All the people of Italy were become citizens of Rome. In the reign of Claudius, this privilege was, at firſt, extended to the inhabitants of Tranſalpine Gaul, and, ſhortly afterwards, to all the provinces of the empire. It is neceſſary to read the ſpeech, which Tacitus hath put into the mouth of Claudius, who, amongſt

iſſuing from all the towns of Italy, had raiſed themſelves on the ruins of the ancient houſes; but theſe new citizens did not equal thoſe citizens whom they replaced, either in birth, or in affluence: public paraſites, deſtitute of all patriotic zeal, and having no concern in the management of affairs, came to Rome, that they might partake of the diſtributions of proviſions, and money, which were kinds of temporary alms, diſpenſed by the orders of the ſovereign; but particularly, that they might enjoy thoſe long and magnificent ſights, which, by amuſing, turned aſide their attention to their misfortunes. If ſome rich individuals ſtill exiſted, they were not thoſe great proprietaries, ſo reſpectable in all the ſtates; but Proconſuls, Pretors, and Queſtors, who, by pillaging the provinces, were become opulent; and more eſpecially, the Roman knights,*(n)* who having engroſſed to themſelves

amongſt ſeveral other plauſible reaſons, produces the examples of the Athenians and Lacedemonians, whoſe ruin, he attributed to that ridiculous jealouſy, which prevented them from admitting ſtrangers into the number of their fellow-citizens.

(n) Amongſt the Romans, as amongſt ourſelves, there were but two ſorts of nobility: the one ſort ſeemed acknowledged

ſelves all the buſineſs of the finances, ſoon acquired immenſe fortunes in money; a manifeſt ſymptom of a ſtate in her decline. The perplexity of Auguſtus, when he undertook to

knowledged by the general opinion, and proceeded from the antiquity and dignity of families, honourable employments, military crowns, the images of anceſtors, &c. (See Gravina de origine Juris). The other ſort belonged to the conſtitution, and was that which conferred a real rank, by diſtinguiſhing the Patrician, and the Senators, from the Knights, and the Plebeians. Now, this laſt order of nobility was founded only in riches, in the Cenſus. Thus, the claſſes, formerly inſtituted with a different intention, by Servius Tullius, were, by the lapſe of time, unavoidably drawn into a contradiction, to the principles of the government, ſince they put men, who had, accidentally, made a fortune, and ſometimes, even gamblers, on a footing with the citizen, ſprung from the moſt illuſtrious parents, and enjoying the advantages of the beſt education. I am ſurpriſed that all authors, and, chiefly, Mr. de Monteſquieu, ſhould have paid ſo little attention to that ſimilarity which exiſts in the condition of the nobility, amongſt the Romans, and the nobility, amongſt ourſelves. He might have obſerved how, in all governments, and in all ſtates, conſequence is attached to affluence; and how impoſſible it is for fortune to diſpenſe with conſequence. In ſpite of the numerous ſatires, which the juſtice, the malignity, or the jealouſy of the public, may have levelled againſt the receivers of the kings

to reform the ſenate, is well known. The greateſt part of the younger branches of the moſt illuſtrious families, wanted the poſſeſſions neceſſary to qualify them for that order, and this prince was obliged to ſupply their

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kings revenues, they are become amongſt us, what the Roman knights were at Rome, a claſs apart, deriving a conſequence from their affluence. And this conſequence would, doubtleſs, have become more conſiderable, and more marked, if the marriages of the rich heireſſes, had not diverted the money from its original channel, and cauſed it to be ſcattered abroad and diſſipated. No ſooner did theſe Financiers become deſirous of ſhining with a borrowed luſtre, than they diminiſhed the luſtre which was peculiar to them. And yet, they not only form a claſs apart, as hath been already obſerved, but they recruit, as it were, the ancient nobility, which by degrees, become extinct, and make way for the modern nobility. Why the fortunes acquired by the adventurers in commerce, or the merchants, have not, like the fortunes acquired by the Financiers, eſtabliſhed a new order of citizens, would be no incurious queſtion. But, here, it cannot be reſolved. I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, firſt, that commerce is generally the moſt flouriſhing in democratical ſtates. Secondly, that the individuals, who engage in commerce, are of a rank, too diſtant from the great, to endeavour to be aſſimilated with them. The commercial man avoids ſplendor. The Financier loves it, and finiſhes with the attainment of it.

exigencies with his bounty.(o) In ſpite of the admiſſion of the people of Italy, to the privileges of citizens; in ſpite of all thoſe recruits ſo little worthy of the metropolis; when Auguſtus, in the beginning of his reign, gave orders for the Cenſus, the number of citizens did not exceed four millions, one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand; the majority of which muſt have periſhed with famine, had they not partaken of the diſtributions of the ſovereign.(p) Such were the maſters of the world, or rather, ſuch were the firſt ſlaves of Auguſtus; without means, without property, tranſported from Calabria into Tuſcany, and from Tuſcany into Lombardy, juſt as it became neceſſary either to recompence ſome veteran ſoldiers, or to celebrate ſome illuſtrious names by eſtabliſhing a colony; theſe unhappy perſons, always conſidered as ſtrangers, even in Rome, ſtrolled about under the porticos, and dwelled in cabbins.

Add

(o) Cæſar admitted ſuch a number of ſtrangers and new men into the ſenate, that an humorous edict was fixed up, in which were the following words in great letters: *all perſons whatſoever are ſtrictly commanded not to refuſe ſhewing a ſenator the way to the ſenate.*

(p) See Dion.

Add to theſe, ſome Greek Rhetoricians, foreign adventurers, a multitude of ſlaves,(q) and a great number of gladiators, wreſtlers, comedians, and proſtitutes, and then, ſome idea may be formed of the ſituation of Rome, under her emperors.

(q) The exceſs to which the cuſtom of keeping a multitude of ſlaves, was, at that time, carried, might eaſily be aſcertained; ſome judgement in this matter may be formed from the following circumſtances. Pedanius Secundus was aſſaſſinated by one of his ſlaves; it was debated, whether, according to the laws, all thoſe ſlaves, who were in the houſe, during the perpetration of the crime, ſhould be ſentenced to death. Caius Caſſius voted for the queſtion, and Tacitus, amongſt other reaſons, hath made him aſſign the following reaſon: quem numerus ſervorum tuebitur, cum Pedanium Secundum quadringenti non protexerint? (ſee Annal. l. 14.) Pedanius had, at that time, four hundred ſlaves. It is impoſſible to read, without horror, that all theſe unfortunate wretches ſuffered death for the crime of a ſingle man. Dion relates that Ægnatius Rufus boaſted, during his Edileſhip, that he had extinguiſhed a fire by the ſingle aſſiſtance of his own ſlaves; Auguſtus, who was diſpleaſed with this magiſtrate, and who, beſides, did not chuſe that an individual ſhould arrogate to himſelf the merit of having provided for the public quiet and welfare, ſet apart, for this employment, only, ſix hundred ſlaves, fallen to him by the ſucceſſion of Agrippa. This immenſe body of ſlaves was rather an alarming circumſtance.

Tacitus

The provinces, long accuſtomed to the tyranny of the proconſuls, the avarice of the queſtors, and the uſury of the Roman knights, had every reaſon to regard the eſtabliſhment of good order, throughout all the departments of adminiſtration, as an advantageous circumſtance. But this was but a temporary bleſſing,

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Tacitus (l. 4.) in relating to us, that under the reign of Tiberius, it was, for a moment, apprehended that they might revolt, hath taken care to acquaint us, that this report had ſpread terror through Rome: ob multitudinem familiarum quæ gliſcebat immenſum minore in dies plebe ingenua. In the letter, which Tiberius wrote to the ſenate, concerning the complaints which had been made againſt luxury, we find theſe remarkable words: quid enim primum prohibere, et priſcum ad morem recipere adgrediar? villarum infinita ſpatia? familiarum numerum, et nationes? (Tac. ann. l. 3.) Treinſhemius explains the term, nationes, by obſerving, that the Romans had ſo great a number of ſlaves, that they diſtinguiſhed them by nations. Juſtus Lipſius, alſo, cites on this ſubject, a paſſage from Pliny, who obſerves that one Nicilius Iſidorus kept five thouſand ſlaves: he, likewiſe, produces another quotation from Athenæus, in which the number of ſlaves, belonging to ſome of the Romans, is eſtimated, even at thirty thouſand. (See Tacit. Varior. l. 3.) I ſhall conclude this note with obſerving, that in the ſame letter alluded to above, Tiberius declares that the prevalence of corruption, amongſt the Romans, is not aſtoniſhing, ſince they only formed a mixture of every kind of nations.

bleſſing, their condition became better, but their ſtate was not changed. We know that, even during the reign of Auguſtus, ſome of the pretors were guilty of a barbarous abuſe of that arbitrary power, which had been entruſted within their hands. Dion informs us that one Licinius, in the courſe of the year, impudently extorted from the Gauls, fourteen inſtead of twelve months tribute; but this act, the violence of which was far from being without examples, muſt appear to us, in a more ſhocking light, when conſidered as a ſpecies of rapine, exerciſed by the government. In fact, Licinius, who had the preſence of mind to offer Auguſtus, the money which he had exacted, found no difficulty in perſuading him, that a double uſe might ariſe from plundering the Gauls of their treaſures, and throwing them into the coffers of the emperor. As this fact hath reached poſterity, one may naturally ſuppoſe that many other ſimilar facts have periſhed in oblivion. The complaints of the unhappy are not preſerved ſo long as the panegyrics of orators. And what muſt have been the condition of a people, governed by two foreigners, who, with the titles of proconſul, and queſtor,

were reciprocal ſpies, or accomplices in the ſame crimes; who could neither have played into each others hands, without ruining the province, nor have engaged in mutual oppoſition, without ſcattering through the ſame province, trouble and confuſion?(r)

But, however ſtrict the integrity of theſe magiſtrates might have been, the number, and even the mode of the taxes, were ſufficient to reduce the people to the greateſt diſtreſs. The human mind, always fertile in inventions, had already concerted thoſe numerous impoſitions, which are the ſcourges of our contemporaries; and the ingenious author,(s) who hath proved that almoſt all the diſcoveries, attributed to the moderns, are owing to the ancients, might have added to the examples, which he hath produced, in ſupport of his aſſertion, the long-ſince invented

(r) Tacitus (Vit. Agric.) hath taken care to tranſmit to us the complaints of the Britons, againſt the Roman government. Singulos ſibi olim reges fuiſſe, nunc binos imponi; equibus legatus in ſanguinem, procurator in bona ſæviret: æquè diſcordiam præpoſitorum, æquè concordiam ſubjectis exitioſam, &c.

(s) Mr. Du Tens.

vented art of working a province with taxes, or rather of working a people with taxes.(t)

Whilſt the frontiers we galled by the payment of tributes, and harraſſed by the preſence of armies, they felt the additional miſfortune of being frequently expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy. In fact, although Auguſtus was not engaged in any very calamitous wars; and although the centre of the empire was at peace, yet the Germans, the Rhetians, the Pannonians, and the Cantabrians, were conſtantly committing great diſorders, and exerciſing much cruelty, not only againſt the Romans, but againſt their allies; for ſuch were the extent and the fortune of this empire, that all who were neither allied

(t) L'Abbé du Bos hath proved that the emperors levied from their ſubjects, but particularly, from the Gauls, taxes of every kind, ſuch as a tithe of fruits, in the conquered lands, and farmed under the name, Decuma: a fifth of all the productions not ſown, whether of wood, vines, meadows, &c. A general land-tax, or if it be a more proper expreſſion, an acre-tax, called jugeratio; a capitation, or perſonal tax, paid by every freeman; and in ſhort, the duties of the cuſtoms, on exportation, and importation; the fortieth penny on effects ſold, &c. &c. (See l'hiſtoire de l'etabliſſement de la Monarch. Franc. Chap. 11. 12. 13. Tom. 1. Liv. 1.)

allied to, nor tributaries of the Romans, compoſed a barbarous people, at once lawleſs and unpoliſhed.

This induces us to extend our reflections ſtill farther, and endeavour to form ſome eſtimation of the ſtate of the known world, at that period. It is but too true that we perceive upon this vaſt theatre, merely a debaſed, indolent, and frivolous people;*(u)* kingdoms converted into oppreſſed and languiſhing provinces; and, at a greater diſtance, barbarous nations, equally ignorant of commerce, and of agriculture, and exiſting only in a ſtate of war. Where is the philoſopher who can, at any time, be led to envy thoſe, whom fate had deſtined to live, during this æra? but, let us, inſtead of loitering over theſe general views, follow the hiſtory with a cloſer ſtep.

It

(u) The Romans had, from the beginning of the civil wars, ſo entirely neglected agriculture, that Auguſtus was induced, in order to re-eſtabliſh it, to curtail the diſtributions of corn, amongſt the people, ſince they exempted them from the neceſſity of cultivating the earth. but Suetonius pretends that he was deterred, by the apprehenſion that, one day, the re-eſtabliſhment of this cuſtom, might prove too great an opening to ambition, and too eaſy a ſtep to the attainment of popularity.

It is certain that Auguſtus was a pacific prince; and yet his legions were almoſt conſtantly engaged in war; his friends, his children were ſcarcely to be found, but at the head of the armies; and even he, in ſpite of old age, in ſpite of his averſion to a martial life, was frequently obliged to undertake long voyages, that he might be at hand, to direct the military operations. Did not the revolts of the Germans, the Cantabrians, and the other people above-mentioned, keep the Roman forces, always, in action? and was not the beginning of the reign of Tiberius diſturbed with the din of battle? it is certain that all this never reached Rome; but what is Rome, when compared with the univerſe? beſides, if even Auguſtus, ſeated within the very boſom of fortune, lamented over the death of a ſon, who periſhed miſerably amidſt foreign wars, is it poſſible to believe that the inhabitants of Rome were happier, than he was? can we ſuppoſe that the defeat of Varus, and the bloody victories of Agrippa, of Druſus, and of Germanicus, had not often proved the cauſe of mourning, in the moſt illuſtrious families? we muſt not judge of the Auguſtan age, by the works of con-

contemporary poets; but had the fine verſes of Horace and of Virgil expreſſed the ſincere meaning of the heart, no more could be gathered from this circumſtance, than that the artiſts, and the men of letters enjoyed a ſtate of welfare; or rather, that the happineſs, which they celebrated, like the rays of the ſun, after a ſtorm, owed a great part of its value to thoſe horrible moments, which preceded it? and what dependance could have been placed on this felicity, the only baſis, the only ſupport of which, were the days of an old man? who, poſſeſſed of any feeling but muſt have trembled, when he reflected that Tiberius, and Poſthumus Agrippa, were the neareſt heirs to the throne? After the ſacrifices which had been made to Auguſtus, what reſource remained againſt his ſucceſſors? woe to the people, who have been ſubdued by enthuſiaſm! forgers of their own chains, they have contrived to fit them on in ſuch a manner as to render it almoſt impoſſible that they ſhould be broken; as if it were neceſſary, in exchange for benefits, to ſupply a king with power; and whilſt we are rewarding a good prince, to make preparations for a tyrant. Monarchy, like nobi-

lity,

lity, which is the ſupport of monarchy, to be reſpectable, ſhould be ancient. From a fortunate experience of authority, and from a ſettled habit of obedience, may ariſe a kind of conſtitution, which, in the end, becomes almoſt unalterable: becauſe there is a point, beyond which the materials of a republic, exiſt no longer in a monarchy, whilſt the materials of a monarchy, exiſt always in a republic.

There is but little room to doubt that the Romans gave way to ſome reflections, ſuch as theſe; and although the majority ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced, as much by the dignities which Auguſtus laviſhed on them, as by that reſemblance of a republic, which he ſtill preſerved, yet they could not avoid foreſeeing what happened afterwards: but ſuch was the artifice which prevailed in the conduct of this fortunate uſurper, that good and evil, hope and fear, the empty name and the reality were ſo happily blended, and ſo judiciouſly counter-ballanced, that the Romans remained in that divided ſtate, which leaves more room for doubts and fears, than for confidence and reſolution. I inſiſt the more particularly on this epoch of the reign

of

of Auguſtus, becauſe the mere names of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, are ſufficient to ſtrike horror into every feeling heart. No one is ſo barbarous, as not to deplore the fate of thoſe unhappy wretches, who lived under theſe execrable reigns; and yet they were reigns, which, of all others, made the leaſt ſhew of war.(x) If war was, ſometimes, kindled in Britain, or towards Armenia, the center of the empire ſcarcely knew any thing about it; but that kind of bloody peace which prevailed muſt frequently have become a motive for regretting the horrors of battle. The death of Nero brought trouble and confuſion back into the boſom of Italy; and the engagements between the armies of Otho, and Vitellius, and of Veſpaſian and Galba, again drenched in human gore, thoſe fields, which, ſince the battle of Mantua, had never reſounded with the din of arms. Veſpaſian eſtabliſhed peace in the empire: but his reign is preciſely the reign which preſents us with a picture of all the moſt ſhocking

(x) Tacitus, on the ſubject of the legions, which Corbulo led into Armenia, ſaith: ſatis conſtitit fuiſſe in eo exercitu veteranos qui non ſtationem, non vigilias iniſſent. Tac. ann. l. 13.

ſhocking circumſtances, which have, at any time been produced by ambition, on the one, and fanaticiſm, on the other hand. It may eaſily be gueſſed, that I allude to the war of the Jews, in which, during the ſpace of two years, more than thirteen hundred thouſand ſouls periſhed; and which, rekindled under Trajan, and under Adrian,(y) occaſioned the total deſtruction of fifty fortified cities, and nine hundred and eighty-five boroughs, or villages. This horrible ſcourge of humanity too much outweighed the advantages, which aroſe in the reign of Veſpaſian. Titus can only be ſaid to have juſt ſeated himſelf on the throne. It ſeems as if that deſtiny, which had formed him a pattern for ſucceeding kings, was contented with barely ſhewing him as an eternal example to every future age. I ſhall not mention Domitian, whom a ſeries of cruelties have rendered too notorious; but I muſt obſerve that Trajan,

(y) If Xiphilinus, the abridger of Dion, may be credited, this revolt of the Jews was attended with the loſs of two hundred thouſand men at Cyrene; and two hundred and fifty thouſand men in the Iſle of Cyprus. The cruelties which this hiſtorian imputes to the Jews, make the hair ſtand on end, and are ſcarcely credible.

Trajan, whoſe vertues, and whoſe goodneſs ſhould have proved the delights of the Roman people, diſturbed, of his own accord, by a paſſion for war, the ſerenity of thoſe happier days, to which he had given birth. This obſervation becomes more conſiderably important, ſince it enables us to eſtimate the morality of this age. I repeat it: I ſhall frequently have occaſion to repeat it: a love for their country, popularity, and generoſity, were vertues common to the ancients; but true philanthropy, a regard for public welfare, and general order, are ſentiments, to which the paſt ages were abſolutely ſtrangers. And how, indeed, could ſuch ſentiments have exiſted amongſt men, accuſtomed from their infancy, to behold thouſands of gladiators, mutually ſlaughtering one another, and periſhing even amidſt the acclamations of the women? ſuch exalted feelings as theſe could never have animated a people, who ſo frequently ſaw priſoners of war, chiefs and kings publicly conducted, in purſuance of a decree, to execution, and completing, by their deaths, the feſtivity of a triumph. It muſt be confeſſed that vertue hath been, in every æra, what beauty ſtill is, amongſt different nations;

nations; not that which nature hath produced the moſt perfect, but the greateſt perfection of features which ſhe may have given to each nation, and in each climate. As in the antique ſtatues, the countenances of a Venus, or an Helen, preſerve a certain expreſſion of auſterity, in our eyes, extremely inconſiſtent with thoſe graces diffuſed through other forms, ſo the vertues of the ancients were continually tinged with the vices of their age.(z)

(z) I have, hitherto, neglected to obſerve, that the Romans were ſo rigorous, in all their criminal proſecutions, as never to ſuppoſe that the number of the guilty could ſuggeſt a reaſon why any ſhould be pardoned. Seneca relates, that Voluſius Meſſala, having ordered three hundred men, to be beheaded, on one day, boaſted of his conduct, and thought the perpetration of this barbarity a truly royal action. When Claudius exhibited that remarkable ſpectacle, on the Lacus Fucinus, there were more than nineteen thouſand criminals all doomed to death; as may be ſeen in a paſſage which Suetonius hath tranſmitted to us. This author ſaith, that all theſe unfortunate wretches cried out to the emperor, as they paſſed before him: ave imperator, morituri te ſalutant; and that Claudius anſwering, from abſence of mind, avete vos, they underſtood this expreſſion to mean a pardon, and would not

If Trajan and Marcus Aurelius have been blamed for engaging too much in war, yet, it muſt be confeſſed, that many reaſons may be alledged in their favour. In fact, if we examine the conſtitution of the empire of the Cæſars, and the ſlight baſis on which their authority reſted, we ſhall be convinced, that it was almoſt impoſſible to maintain peace at home, but by waging war abroad. War is, unfortunately, a great mean of government, it employs every mind, it reduces all forms into one plain ſyſtem, and keeps each diſcuſſion

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not engage, until they had been compelled to it, by threats and intreaties. Mr. Crevier (Hiſt. des Emp.) obſerves on this occaſion, that it was an aſtoniſhing circumſtance that nineteen thouſand criminals ſhould be found in the Roman empire, worthy of death, unleſs they had collected them, for ſome time before, from all the provinces of the empire.... But, we know that the Romans had but too many reſources, wherewith to ſupply their ſanguinary amuſements. Priſoners taken in war, foreigners condemned for different crimes, and more particularly the ſlaves, ſerved as food for their cruelty. The barbarous power which they exerciſed over theſe laſt, is well known, and we may recollect an horrible inſtance, from the unfeeling malignity of Vedius Pollio, who, becauſe a ſlave broke a glaſs, would have thrown him, even in the preſence of

cuſſion at a diſtance. I am, alſo, exceedingly inclined to believe, that thoſe kings, who were always the moſt engaged in war, were not the kings who ſtood in the greateſt need of genius; and that politic princes are as much ſuperior to martial princes, as the art of governing is more difficult, than the art of commanding. The emperors, ſituated between the people, and the army, but more embarraſſed by the laſt, ought to have deſired war, that they might have employed the one, and amuſed the other. And yet a

of Auguſtus, to ſome ſea monſters, which he kept in a pond. It may be, that theſe examples of inhumanity were uncommon; but it is at leaſt apparent that a generally eſtabliſhed cuſtom required that all fugitive ſlaves ſhould be expoſed to wild beaſts.

Amidſt ſo many atrocious actions, of which the Romans were guilty, the greateſt reproach which they have incurred, is, in my opinion, on account of their having never treated man, in general, as a kind of fellow creature. The extreme rigour of their puniſhments might, perhaps, have been excuſable, had it been founded on a love of order, and had it been extended, with equal ſeverity, againſt all. But who will not be ſurpriſed, at perceiving that theſe ſanguinary judges inflicted no other puniſhment, but the puniſhment of ſending into exile, on a Roman citizen, even although he might have committed a thouſand aſſaſſinations.

ſingle obſtacle defeated the effect of this policy. The Romans were too ſuperior to other ſtates, the frontiers of the empire were too diſtant, and the neighbouring nations were too intimidated; it, therefore, became neceſſary to go far off, in ſearch of war, and, then, the abſence of the maſter, of courſe, diminiſhed his power. Beſides, ſuch is the misfortune entailed on a people, entirely military, that in the caſe, where war is ſo diſtant, that the interior quarters do not feel its conſequences, it will ceaſe to be intereſting, and its ſucceſſes will become matters of indifference, whilſt its loſſes will be the more bitterly felt. Even the common ſoldier grows fatigued, when toiling, without one object in his view; he mutinies, and revolts. If there be two armies, two parties are formed. Freſh dangers may ariſe from the valour of the officers, and the confidence of the forces. They can no more remain attached to their chief, without raiſing him to the firſt rank; and the love of the ſoldiers ſoon induces the generals to prove faithleſs? thus a misfortune muſt ſpring out of one of theſe three circumſtances. If war be diſadvantageous, it brings on the ruin of a nation: if it maintain only

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an equal oppoſition to the contending powers, it harraſſes, and drains a nation; and if it be advantageous, it introduces a diſſolution of the armies, and of the government. I have not yet mentioned the danger which may accrue from particular bodies, ſuch as the Pretorian guards, the Janiſſaries, the Strelitzes, &c. becauſe all my readers well know that every deſpot hath his ſatellites, and that each of theſe ſatellites are, in their turns, the tyrants of the deſpot. Amongſt three and twenty emperors, ſixteen were ſlaughtered,(a)

(a) It is remarkable that, out of forty-two emperors, who filled up the interval, between Julius Cæſar and Charlemagne, thirty, at leaſt, died a violent death. Amongſt theſe, four committed ſuicide; and ſix periſhed through the intrigues of their favourites, their brothers, their wives, and their children. It is not their dreadful diſmiſſion to eternity, but their fatal entrance into the world, at which the feeling reader will be apt to ſhudder. The pen which writes the annals of the generality of kings, ſhould, with propriety, be dipped in blood. A multitude of thoſe monarchs, whom the fear, and adulation of their ſubjects, have dignified with the titles of fathers of their country, were little better than the murderers of mankind. If their contemporaries durſt have ſpoken their ſentiments with the ſame freedom, which hath influenced the opinion of their

the Roman empire was put up at auction, and ſold to a contemptible individual; the revolutions of Ruſſia, of the empire of the Ottomans, and of that of the Mogul, are ample proofs that a government, founded in military deſpotiſm, is the worſt government of all, not only for princes, but for the people.

SECTION

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their poſterity, the compoſitions of too many of our anceſtors, inſtead of being ſullied with panegyrics on royalty, would have glowed only with execrations againſt the flagrancy of arbitrary power. K.

SECTION II.

Conſiderations on the lot of Humanity, during the middle ages of hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

On the inundation of the Barbarians.

WHILST we purſue our taſk of deſcribing the misfortunes of mankind, we cannot obſerve, without concern, the diverſity prevailing through the ſeveral objects which claim our attention. Evil is produced, and generated under a thouſand different forms; and, without being hurried away by too ſplenetic an imagination, we may venture to

aſſert that, of all the preſents which were made to human nature, the box of Pandora was, indiſputably, the moſt complete, and the moſt judiciouſly aſſorted. The theatre of the world muſt now undergo a conſiderable alteration. In the place of either thoſe rigid old men, who, ſeated on their curule chairs, decided, in three words, the deſtruction of ſtates; or of thoſe young enthuſiaſts, who, for a crown of graſs, carried fire and the ſword to the extremities of the earth, we ſhall perceive a race of half-ſavages, a wandering multitude of Barbarians,(*b*) who, notwithſtanding, more juſt and more conſiderate than the firſt, felt only thoſe paſſions, to which their wants had given birth, and became the maſters of the world, ſolely, becauſe they were periſhing with hunger.

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(*b*) (*Hordes.*) This expreſſion is applicable to thoſe large bodies of emigrants, thoſe ſocieties of wandering Tartars, who, like the ancient Scythians, exiſt only in tents, in order the more conveniently to change their abode, whenſoever the proviſions of the country become nearly conſumed. Each troop of theſe emigrants formerly conſiſted of fifty, or ſixty families, under the command of a captain, dependant on the general, or prince of the whole nation. K.

From whence came theſe people, known only by their invaſions? how did it happen, that all unpoliſhed, and divided as they were, they attained to the power of overthrowing that wonderful Coloſſus, the Roman empire? (*c*) theſe are two important queſtions. The inveſ-

(*c*) The riſe and fall of Empires may be ranked amongſt thoſe events which, although common, do not ceaſe to be remarkable. Inſpiration only could have diſcovered, that the primitive Romans, a vile, and abject people were deſtined to clear the path, which conducted their future race to the ſovereignty of the world. If, in the days of Julius Cæſar, a Roman Augur had pretended, that his *birds* informed him, that the diſtant deſcendants of the dictator, and his *invincible* countrymen, ſhould be emaſculated, and ſing upon a ſtage, before the poſterity of the conquered Britons, inſtead of being reverenced as a prophet, he would have been ſtoned, as a madman. Yet this, and ſtranger things than this have happened. To what fate England, the envy, and admiration of every kingdom upon earth, may be reſerved, it is impoſſible to determine: but an ingenious writer of eſſays, a Colman, or a Wharton, by purſuing this thought, might, at once, amuſe and inſtruct. A picture of England, ſunk into what Rome is at preſent, blended with the repreſentation of an American colony, ſuperior in power and ſplendour, to her unnatural mother, can, in this age, only be ideal; but the future reality is, to the full as probable, as was the deſtruction of Rome, by the Barbarians, in the boaſted reign of Auguſtus. K.

inveſtigation of one queſtion is the province of erudition; the inveſtigation of the other queſtion is the province of the ſcience of politics. To diſcuſs them might ſeem a ſtriking inſtance of temerity, on our part, if experience had not convinced us, that a little philoſophy can, ſometimes, throw a light over the moſt intricate reſearches, and relieve us from the toils of learning. Let others diſplay a vain, unneceſſary parade of knowledge: we ſhall content ourſelves with confeſſing our ignorance of the hiſtory of that vaſt region of the world, which contains Sweden, Ruſſia, Poland, Tartary, China, and Indoſtan. Now who can inform us, if the emigrations into the Weſt did not originate from the North, and the Eaſt? amongſt the people, who inhabited Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, there were but very few ſuppoſed to be indigenous.(*d*) The majority of them came from a greater diſtance, but they were not known until after their laſt eſtabliſhment. Were

(*d*) There are very ſtrong proofs, that all theſe people came from Scythia. The celebrated Odin had conquered all the northern countries. See *Introduction a l'hiſt. du Dannemark.*

Were theſe people repulſed, towards the Weſt, by the Tartarian and Chineſe nations? or, did they not extend themſelves into the vicinity of the Roman empire, by reaſon of too numerous a population? or, may we not rather ſuppoſe, that the world, becoming peopled, only by ſucceſſion, the countries neareſt to the ſea, were, at the firſt, inhabited by a larger proportion of individuals, than the inland countries; from whence it muſt have followed, that an equilibration could never have been eſtabliſhed amongſt them, the progreſs of one part of theſe individuals, exactly correſponding with the decline of the other part.

The multiplication of queſtions, is the multiplication of doubts. Firſt, ſuppoſing that the barbarous nations had been repulſed towards the Weſt, in conſequence of thoſe unfortunate wars, which raged within the Eaſtern quarters, it muſt be very aſtoniſhing, that there ſhould have been no tradition preſerved, relative to theſe events. Secondly, although it be generally allowed, that the women in Germany are more prolific than elſewhere, we do not perceive that this circumſtance

cumſtance extends farther to the North; or that Sweden and Ruſſia have any reaſon to boaſt of the ſame fecundity. Thirdly, there is no abſurdity in admitting, that the population of the world was, as yet, progreſſive, in thoſe early times; and that the effect of a long ſeries of ages was univerſally manifeſted, almoſt at the ſame inſtant. But, is it neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that the population amongſt the Barbarians, and, particularly, amongſt the inhabitants of the North, was ſo numerous? let us ſee what dependance can be drawn from the calculations of hiſtorians. Shall we attempt to ſide with them? whenſoever I read in their works, that this emperor attacked the Barbarians, and deſtroyed one hundred thouſand men; that another emperor defeated two hundred thouſand Goths; and that a third emperor vanquiſhed three hundred thouſand Sarmatians, I always tranſlate theſe paſſages, thus: ſuch an emperor attacked the Barbarians, and deſtroyed a great multitude. What! if, in our times, when the military ſtate of each nation, is printed and publiſhed, we can never exactly aſcertain the number of the forces of our enemies, or

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the number of the forces of our allies, ſhall we pretend to reckon up the forces of the Barbarians, who had no muſter-rolls, no diviſions of troops, nor any other method of marching, but in multitudes? it is, indeed, impoſſible to avoid wondering at the confidence with which hiſtorians tranſmit their details to poſterity. Had they not been obliged to furniſh out the greater part of their annals with materials, taken from the compoſitions of the orators and panegyriſts, how could they have expected, that the Romans themſelves ſhould have known the number of the forces of their enemies? is it not evident that either fear or vanity magnified every object; that, in order to ſcatter terror through the ranks of the enemy, it was cuſtomary to ſpeak of the ſtrength of their own army, as greater than it was; and that, when they had been defeated, it was equally uſual, to repreſent the ſtrength of the oppoſing army, as leſs than it was, that the diſgrace of having been conquered, might admit of ſome extenuation? beſides, no province, whether in Germany, in France, or in Spain, is ſo poor, as to prove incapable of exciting

exciting the fears of neigbouring provinces; were all its inhabitants to take up arms, at once: and theſe apprehenſions muſt have been ſtill more violent, at a time when there were no military fortreſſes, to ſerve as barriers, of which the aſſailants could not have poſſeſſed themſelves, but by dint of ſkill, toil, and perſeverance.

The cuſtom which theſe barbarous nations had adopted, of tranſporting themſelves, to a man, from one climate, into another climate, ſeems, at the firſt glance, a more aſtoniſhing circumſtance, than any of the former circumſtances. And yet, if we do but reflect, we ſhall be no longer ſurprized at reading, in the pages of hiſtory, a relation of ſimilar events, which happened at a period, much leſs remote from our own times. It is not a great while, ſince we became acquainted with the interiour parts of America; and we know that the nations which inhabit them have undergone the like revolutions. It is, ſtill, extremely common, to obſerve the ſavages, ſettling themſelves in places, five, or ſix hundred leagues diſtant from their original abode. Such, at this period, is the fate

fate of the Tartars; and ſuch will always be the deſtiny of thoſe people, who remain abſolute ſtrangers, to the arts of agriculture. This, then, is the important ſpeculation, on which we are to fix: if we deſire to know what, in general, is the condition of the inhabitants of the world, we need only inform ourſelves, whether the number of cultivated lands be augmented, or diminiſhed.

However ſimple this method of inveſtigating our ſubject may appear, we dare venture to aſſert, that it is not without its novelty; a novelty, ariſing from the contempt, with which ſuch diſcuſſions have been treated by all thoſe political enthuſiaſts, who were only led aſide by a vain glory, or a falſe vertue; forms, at once, gigantic and frivolous, incapable of exiſting, but by mutually ſupporting each other, and making humanity a conſtant victim to their connexion.

We have, already, obſerved how the arts, commerce and agriculture became, as it were, a conſtituent part of Ægypt, of Phenicia, and at length of Greece, ſpreading themſelves, as they conſtantly kept near to the

the ſea-ſhore, through Italy, Sicily, the coaſts of Africa, Spain, and even amongſt the Gauls. This conſideration may ſerve to explain the reaſon, why the nations, bordering on the ocean, always enjoyed more diſtinguiſhed advantages, than the nations inhabiting the inland countries. In fact, whilſt Lycurgus, Solon, Romulus, and the reſt, were putting their invention to the torture, that they might diſcover the art of effectually vanquiſhing their neighbours, nature, by ſlow degrees, conducted her rebellious children to that point, whereto ſhe inceſſantly tends, by a progreſs, at once, ſecret and undiſturbed. Whilſt agriculture increaſed the productions of the earth, commerce was taught to negotiate their exchange; and as a river, when iſſuing from its bed, firſt overflows its banks, and then, divides its waters into different channels, bending its courſe through every convenient winding; ſo theſe uſeful diſcoveries extended themſelves from the ſea-coaſts into the places more immediately within the reach of commerce, and from thence, into the inland countries. Thus, it may be ſaid that riches and induſtry made the firſt advances, and went in queſt of the Barbarians,

before

before this people began to covet them. What, then, muſt have happened, if the perverſeneſs of mankind, but, more particularly, the perverſeneſs of heroes, and legiſlators, had not intruded itſelf to interrupt the order of nature? the induſtrious nations would, by little and little, have mixed themſelves amongſt other nations, either by commerce, or by alliance; nay, even by war, ſince, if, of two contending powers, the one power be more civilized than the other power, only the moſt ſtupid pride and the moſt miſguided policy, can hinder the conquerors from either adopting the manners of the conquered, or imparting to them their own manners. Unfortunately the philoſophers had ſo much underſtanding, the chiefs ſo much heroiſm, and the people ſo much vertue, that all, over the ſurface of the globe, was in a flame, whilſt the perfection of human nature was thrown back to an extreme diſtance. An ignorant people, entirely deſtitute of laws, and ſtrangers to cultivation, ſoon triumphed over the compatriots of Homer, of Plato, and of Lycurgus. They undertook to draw out their empire to a greater extent, than that extent which the

empire of manners and legiſlation had been able to reach: but quickly corrupted, divided and enfeebled, they preſerved no traces of their ancient ſplendor, except thoſe atrocious principles which they had derived from it; and at a time when they were no longer capable of quelling a revolt, their conduct invited it to break out. The barbarous nations found themſelves, during that period, in a ſingular ſituation. Within the vicinity of opulence, and repulſed by a power who left them no ſhare of it, they eagerly wiſhed for all the ſoftneſs of luxury, whilſt they dreaded leſt they ſhould fall victims to oppreſſion. There was no hope of thoſe federal alliances, thoſe intermarriages of ſovereign houſes, which tended to aſſimilate and unite the neighbouring nations. In the place of the ancient apothegm, introduced by Cato; *delenda eſt Carthago*, there was reaſon to ſubſtitute; *delenda eſt Roma:* and, in fact, Rome was, already, deſtroyed; the ſenate was filled with foreigners; the Barbarians commanded an army almoſt entirely compoſed of Barbarians. The Pretorians, invincible tyrants in the capital, but puſillanimous citizens in the camp, after having created

ed and aſſaſſinated emperors, were compelled to give the precedency to the Germans and to the other foreigners, whom the Cæſars had appointed to form their guards. Theſe Barbarians, admitted into the firſt rank, eſtabliſhed with their own nations a correſpondence which became pernicious to the Romans; they fixed their eyes on this degraded ſtate, in proportion to its becoming forgetful of itſelf: the ambition of particular individuals preceded the ambition of the people; the chief employments were invaded, and even the throne was uſurped in ſuch a manner, that the Barbarians may be ſaid to have conquered the empire before they attacked it.

From hence, it follows that we muſt ſeek for the ſources of the invaſions of the Barbarians, hitherto ſo difficult to be aſcertained, in the atrocity of the ancient principles of the republic; in the vices peculiar to the modes of government, adopted by the emperors; and, eſpecially, in the vaſt extent of their dominions. But, whatſoever may have been the cauſe of theſe invaſions, it will always remain an incontrovertible point, that they ought to be regarded, as ſome of the moſt

bitter calamities, which ever afflicted human nature. The numerous and bloody battles, which they have occaſioned, may be referred to thoſe firſt principles of war, deſcribed at the beginning of this work; the deſire of quitting a rigorous climate, for a more wholeſome climate; a barren land, for a more fertile land, &c. Now, wars of this kind are the moſt cruel and diſaſtrous; not being ſo much the contention of rival warriors, as the obſtinate oppoſition of one nation againſt another nation. On the one hand, the impoſſibility of drawing off, and on the other hand, the neceſſity of preſerving the means of ſubſiſtance, render the deſtruction of the enemy a neceſſary conſequence of victory. What can be more melancholy and diſquieting, than the picture of humanity, during the times, which preceded the ſeparation of the Roman empire? nations deſtroyed through principles of policy: other nations overwhelming and laying waſte whole countries; and a third aſſemblage of nations, more dangerous than the former, exiſting, ſolely, by acts of theft and piracy; the emperors tranſplanting whole colonies from Germany, into Britain;

Britain; from Aſia, into Africa; and from Africa, into Europe. The univerſe reſembled one vaſt field of battle, where the bodies of forces, not employed in fight, are engaged in continual evolutions, and, inceſſantly, change their ground.(e)

(e) Theſe frequent emigrations, theſe perpetual changes in the eſtabliſhment of nations, were, after the war, amongſt the greateſt misfortunes, entailed on human nature. Let the reader judge from the following circumſtances. Probus, unable to keep the Barbarians, in a ſtate of peace, reſolved to tranſplant ſeveral nations, into the lands belonging to the empire. Only one colony ſucceeded. It was compoſed of a hundred thouſand of the Baſtarnæ, a people of Scythia, who had ſettled in Thrace. The Gedinians, the Vandals, and the Franks could not be prevailed on to fix themſelves, but committed their uſual acts of plunder, in the places, where it had been attempted to eſtabliſh them. It became neceſſary to deſtroy them, by force of arms. Diocleſian tranſported, into Pannonia, the Carpian nations, inhabiting the vicinities of the Pontus Euxinus; and Conſtantius Chlorus made the Batavians paſs into the moſt depopulated provinces of Gaul. The manner in which they waged war againſt theſe Barbarians may be diſcovered, in a paſſage, from Vopiſcus, who informs us, that the emperor Probus, not contented with having ſlaughtered, in one battle, four hundred thouſand Barbarians, conſiſting of Burgundians, Franks, and Germans, ſet a price upon the heads

CHAP. II.

The first appearance of Christianity. The political, and moral state of Paganism, at the æra of the establishment of the Christian religion.

THE dreadful convulsions, which shook the political system of the world, were not sufficient to fill up the measure of calamity. A revolution, a thousand times more astonishing, prepared itself to overthrow the empire of opinion; as if the time had been arrived

heads of all who remained, promising to each of the soldiers a piece of gold, for every head which they might bring. It is with singular satisfaction, that I draw the contrast to these cruel orders, whilst I mention what I recollect to have seen practised, during the last war. Some commanders of light troops, anxious to prevent

rived, at which, every thing on the ſurface of the earth was to be altered, from the power which commands, to the perſuaſion, which governs. A tumultuous war aroſe in the mind; nor did the individual, who had retired to ſolitude, and contemplation, enjoy more tranquility in his retreat, than the unruly ſoldier, or the timid cultivator of the ground. What an epoch was this, in which hiſtory, at once, preſents to us the deſtruction of the Roman empire, and the fall of paganiſm! new people, and a new mode of worſhip are introduced upon the theatre of the world; it may even be ſaid, that a new religion is introduced; for, idly would men alledge, that chriſtianity, teaching, as its firſt dogma, the unity of God, and immediately deriving itſelf, from the faith of the Iſraelites, ſhould trace its origin up to deiſm and judaiſm: the myſtery of the redemption,

prevent the ſpilling of too much blood, concerted a ſtruggle, in the minds of the ſoldiers, between avarice and cruelty, and inſtituted a reward, for every one, who might bring in a priſoner, ſafe and ſound. Such is the progreſs of manners and philoſophy, that the moderns, at this period, are not ſo cruel, in the time of war, as the ancients were, in times of peace.

its tenets relating to a future ſtate, its forms of worſhip, its precepts, all anounce, all declare a new order in ſpiritual matters; all characteriſe a revolution in the ſyſtem of religion.

But, howſoever this ſubject ought to be conſidered, there is only one method of enquiry, with which we can indulge ourſelves; and this method neceſſarily enters into the plan of our work. Thus, far from following the example of ſome philoſophers, of the preſent age, whoſe abilities we reſpect, but whoſe fondneſs for diſcuſſion hath, perhaps, led them into errors, we ſhall leave to Theologians, that which belongs inconteſtably to their province, and enter ſolely into an examination of the influence of the Chriſtian religion over the happineſs of mankind, in its excluſive relation to this life. It is in conſequence of this principle, that, being obliged, through the ſeries of our reflections, to unfold the origin and progreſs of chriſtianity, we ſhall only mention thoſe human means, of which providence hath made uſe; to theſe means the fathers of the church have given their aſſent; and in this inveſtigation no other means can be admitted, ſince it is impoſſible

poſſible for man, to trace the ways of God through ſupernatural events; and equally as difficult, for our weak intellects, to aſſign a motive, why he ſometimes changes the order of nature; as to explain the reaſon, why he doth not change it, either oftner, or in a manner more adapted to the attainment of thoſe ends, to which, we imagine, that he directs his purpoſes. If, in the courſe of this work, we have never aſſumed that ſtile of confidence, which pretends to teach; but rather the language of criticiſm, at once, doubting and diſcuſſing, how much more neceſſary is it, that we ſhould adhere to this precaution, in a matter, where we cannot boaſt of having availed ourſelves of any aſſiſtance, except that aſſiſtance which aroſe from the light of hiſtory, ſupported by reflection.

Whilſt mankind meditated upon this great revolution in the moral world, they appear to have been particularly ſtricken with two circumſtances, the deſtruction of an ancient religion, and the eſtabliſhment of a new religion; or rather theſe two objects being confounded with each other, the human mind, which conſtantly endeavours to relieve herſelf by

by abſtraction, from the fatigue of entering into long details, ſaw only a war on foot, between two powerful rivals, and did not heſitate to deſcribe chriſtianity, as engaged againſt paganiſm. But was paganiſm a religion? far from it; the term Pagan was not adopted until ſome ages after the appearance of Jeſus Chriſt.*(f)* The Phenicians, the Ægyptians, the Greeks, the Italians, and the Celtæ, had all different ideas, not only of the nature and origin of the gods, but of that kind of adoration, which they imagined it neceſſary to pay them. There were no relative ideas, no connection even between the names

(f) Pagan, from Pagus, a village, becauſe the chriſtian emperors having baniſhed the idolaters from all the cities, they were obliged to retire to the villages; or rather becauſe Conſtantine drove out, from amongſt his troops, and expelled into the villages, all thoſe who were not chriſtians. Neither of theſe explanations is ſatisfactory. The firſt mention which hiſtory makes of the Gentiles, under the name of Pagans, is in the reign of Valentinian, and in the three hundred and ſixty-fifth year of Chriſt. See "Gothofredus de ſtatu Paganorum ſub imperatoribus Chriſtianis." Echard imagines that the inhabitants of the country, remaining longer attached to the worſhip of idols, than the inhabitants of cities, the idolaters were therefore called Pagans. Pagani. b. 7. c. 1.

names of their gods; nor did they barely admit of a tranſlation from one language into another language. Examine all the ancient nations, and endeavour to form from their notions, with regard to *Taut*, *Brimha*, or *Brama*, *Tiphon*, *Oſiris*, *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Odin*, &c. a ſyſtem which conciliates every opinion, and forms a point of re-union againſt a new religion. It may be ſaid that ſuch a ſyſtem is viſible in *Polytheiſm*. But this aſſertion is far from carrying conviction along with it; for we, in our turns, muſt aſk what is underſtood by religion? doth it mean the opinion prevailing amongſt the people? and yet, with ignorant men, all opinion degenerates into ſuperſtition, and all worſhip into idolatry. In this reſpect, it will appear that even the chriſtians poſſeſſed but very few advantages over the Pagans: for were we to enquire into the religious ſtate of all the ſouthern part of America, and of ſome nations ſituated to the North and South of Europe,(g) we ſhould find that their notions on the Trinity, the Virgin, the Saints, the Angels, and the Devils, were

(g) The Ruſſians ſtill preſerve their little idols, and render them the ſame worſhip, which the Pagans rendered to their Penates.

were little ſhort of idolatry. If, on the contrary, it be imagined that through every age, and amidſt every religion, the ideas of the vulgar are to be rejected, we ſhall, then, perceive that amongſt the ancients, the prieſts referred all their doctrine to deiſm, and all their morality to politics. It is certain that the dogma of one God alone was the firſt truth revealed in the Eleuſinian myſteries. Lactantius aſſerts, that Alexander learned this truth from the mouth of the Hierophant; and a very ſlight knowledge of antiquity may convince us that this belief was the baſis of all initiation, and the hidden principle of every doctrine. The freedom with which even the miniſters of religion ſpoke of their divinities, is evident from the writings of Cicero; and Diodorus Siculus accounts for the origin of the popular opinions, relative to the *Styx*, *Acheron*, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, &c. &c. It were a ſtill more uſeleſs taſk, ſhould we attempt to ſearch for Polytheiſm amongſt the philoſophers. In whatſoever obſcurities their ideas, concerning the nature of things and firſt cauſes, were involved, we may aſſert, that no ſect exiſted, the principles

of

ef which, had any thing in common with the religion of the people.

We ſhall not, in this place, treſpaſs upon the readers time, by endeavouring to ſhew what little ſolidity could have belonged to an edifice, without ſymmetry in any of its parts, and without the leaſt correſpondence to a general plan. The Pagan religion, deſpiſed by its own miniſters, inveighed againſt by the philoſophers, and neglected, the moſt frequently, by the people, was equally incapable of ſtriking a deep root, and of forming a a code of doctrines, difficult to be overthrown. The credit which it maintained during a length of time is, notwithſtanding, unqueſtionable. To account, therefore, for all this, we muſt have recourſe to ſome more diſtant cauſe; for it is not ſufficient to demonſtrate with Mr. Hume, that Polytheiſm is the firſt religion which muſt have offered itſelf to an untutored ſet of men; it is not even ſufficient to have diſcovered that this religion was mild, and that its modes of worſhip were agreeable and ingenious: on the one hand, it may be anſwered, that it exiſted during the moſt poliſhed ages; and on the other hand, that the pain and cruelty, attending its practices, have

have been already proved. We muſt, therefore, lead our obſervations ſtill farther, and we ſhall, then, diſcover in the ſyſtem of politics, the true reaſon of the long duration of Polytheiſm.

Would we, in general, comprehend ſome circumſtance from antiquity, we muſt not loſe ſight of two important facts, namely, that Aſia hath been, as it were, the cradle of the ſciences, and Greece, the cradle of poetry. From this ſingle conſideration, a thouſand conſequences will naturally flow. The poets, that is to ſay, the *makers*,*(b)* the firſt amongſt the Greeks who enjoyed the knowledge of any thing, have arranged, as well as they poſſibly could, all the materials which they were able to collect, from the ſentiments of the Phenicians and Ægyptians, relative to the origin of the world, and the generation of gods; but theſe *makers*, faithful to their name, and their profeſſion, forged many new fables,

(b) Poet, Ποιητης, from Ποιεω, to make, to fabricate, to compoſe, &c. We do not, here, pretend to deny that poetry is of an earlier date, and that the Greeks received it from the Phenicians; but we allude to a regular poem which, whilſt it became the language of the prieſts and the legiſlators, was the chief amuſement of the people.

fables, which they mixed with the ancient fables, and, particularly, laboured at attempts to circulate deluſive accounts, concerning the origin of the Greeks; an origin for which they bluſhed to have been indebted to merchants, or a people of ſlaves. Amidſt theſe *makers*, Homer quickly obtained the firſt rank. He compoſed ſo many tales, and ſpoke of ſuch a multitude of things, that his books, in this reſpect, like the Koran, were of themſelves ſufficient to found a religion. And yet, the oracle of Delphos, another *maker*, who *worked* with hexameter verſes, Lycurgus, who made *metrical* laws, pretending, indeed, that they were dictated by Apollo, but which he had ſtolen from the Cretans,*(i)* Heſiod, and many others, began to form, from a very ſmall number of acquired intelligences, and from a very great number of ingenious conjectures, a monſtrous and gigantic ſcaffolding of materials. From all theſe poems, and all theſe oracles, aroſe a particular language, ſtiled μῦθος, in oppoſition to λογός, which

(i) Rhetra, or oracle, an appellation given to the laws of Lycurgus, who pretended to have received them from the mouth of Apollo, whoſe uſual manner of ſpeaking to him was in numbers.

which was the language of reaſon, and which did not prevail until ſome time afterwards. But the μῦθος maintained its ground during whole ages; and as the poets had continually treated of the moſt intereſting ſubjects, ſuch as the origin of republics, the principles of legiſlation, the rights of magiſtrates, the limits of ſtates, &c. poetry, or fable, or, if it be a more proper expreſſion, religion became, as it were, the general repoſitory of archives, and the titles of the nobility of republics. From thence ſprang the obligation which united polity with religion, and the neceſſity which preſerved tenets and ceremonies. The oracles had frequently decided on the privileges of ſtates; and theſe points had been determined even by the authority of the poets.*(k)* Who could have queſtioned the infallibility of the oracles? who could have treated Homer with diſreſpect? !

Saint Auguſtin*(l)* quotes a beautiful definition from Varro, in which that author divides theology into three kinds: the fabulous kind,

(k) Two verſes of Homer decided a conteſt between two republics, which diſputed their metropolitical right over a colony.

(l) De civitate Dei. l. 6. c. 6.

kind, μυθικον, the phyſical or natural kind, and the civil or legal kind. The firſt kind contains fables, the metamorphoſis, &c. the ſecond kind, which treats of the nature of the gods, and of things, is taught only in the ſchools; and the third kind, which is but the ritual of feaſts, or of ſacrifices, is entruſted to the prieſthood. Varro ſaith that, from theſe three kinds of theology, we can only ſelect the firſt, and the laſt kind, as proper to be given up to the people. "Prima, inquit, theologia maximè accomodata eſt ad theatrum, ſecunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem." But this fabulous theology, which Varro particularly annexes to the theatre, was intimately connected with civil theology; and each of theſe did not fail to unite themſelves againſt natural theology, which was their greateſt enemy. Natural theology unfortunately neglected, during a length of time, the only arms which ſhe might have employed with ſucceſs; obſervation and experience. She was even weak enough to borrow frequently from the firſt, her language, and from the laſt, her impoſtures and her myſteries. Theſe three ſyſtems were ſo ſtrongly re-acted upon, by one another, that religion

became allegorical, and philoſophy ſuperſtitious: but whilſt the commerce of nations, whilſt voyages and conqueſts multiplied the objects of adoration, by the adoption of foreign rites, curioſity, emulation, and ſubtilty increaſed the ſects and the ſchools. What could have ariſen from thence, except the diſcredit into which philoſophy and religion fell together? the extravagant cuſtom of adoring all ſorts of divinities, from the great God Jupiter, down to the God Crepitus; and of maintaining all kinds of opinions; from the moſt magiſterial dogmatiſm, to the moſt obſtinate Pyrrhoniſm, ſoon placed the prieſts and the ſophiſts in the ſame rank, and at length gave birth to that ſentiment, which they dread the moſt amongſt the Great, the ſentiment of indifference.

Amidſt theſe diſaſters, religion ſtill enjoyed two great ſupports, in the vanity of the people, and the polity adopted by the magiſtrates. Greece was the receptacle of the gods; in Greece every place ſeem filled with their preſence. The *Olympic* and *Iſthmian* games; the *Panathenæa*; all thoſe magnificent feſtivals peculiar to each city; the great multitude of oracles, each in high reputation, and

and each promiſing to Greece an eternal ſplendor; what objects were theſe for a confident and frivolous people! unfortunately, whilſt the Greeks were buſied in the contemplation of their actual glory, a man of Macedon, (to borrow an expreſſion from Demoſthenes) came to throw all their ideas into confuſion, by inſulting over a legiſlation, for which, indeed, they felt but little anxiety, and by diſturbing their religious feaſts, to the celebration of which, they were attached with the moſt bigotted idolatry. To this man of Macedon ſucceeded another man from the ſame country, who, at once deſtroyed and eſtabliſhed tyranny; who overthrew an ancient monarchy, and gave birth to new dynaſties, all warlike and ferocious, whoſe oppreſſive power overwhelmed the gods, the prieſts, the philoſophers, and the people.

But this, as yet, was nothing, and there had conſtantly remained ſome particulars belonging to theſe two ſyſtems of civil and dramatic theology, accomodatæ ad urbem, ad theatrum. At length, a people conſiſting of exceedingly bad theologians, but of excellent warriors, arrive to overthrow the ſucceſſors of the man of Macedon, and treat as vile

ſlaves, the deſcendants of gods, heroes, and poets. Then every expectation was diſappointed, and every prophecy was belied. Religion, then, loſt all her credit; if the leaſt mark of her footſteps was to be ſeen, it was confined to the theatre, and owed its preſervation to that happy alliance, which ſhe had, for a long time, contracted with the muſes and the polite arts.

At the firſt glance, the Romans ſeem to have been ſo powerful, that they might have given law, even in matters of opinion, to the whole univerſe; but, if I may be allowed the paradox, they were neither ſufficiently intelligent, nor ſufficiently ignorant, to found a religion. Their own dogmas did not belong to them; they were incapable of forming a code of doctrines; their firſt notions of this kind were derived from the Etruſcans, a people much addicted to divination: thus, the earlieſt traces of religion, viſible amongſt them, may be diſcovered in the cuſtom of conſulting the auſpices, eſtabliſhed by Romulus.(m) Numa, originally a Sabine, and better

(m) Romulus conſulted the flight of birds before he began to build Rome.

better inſtructed than the Romans, imagined that it was neceſſary to deceive, before he could reduce a ferocious race of men, who had aſſaſſinated a warlike prince, and the founder of the empire. He, therefore, introduced ſuperſtition to aſſiſt authority; but he was more engaged in the eſtabliſhment of ceremonies, than in the circulation of tenets. He was, in general, the mildeſt of all the impoſters, and merited the applauſe of poſterity. By little, and little, the ſeveral relations extended themſelves: on the one hand, the commerce carried on with the Grecian colonies, and on the other hand, the eſtabliſhment of the Tarquins, could not fail to fix a reputation upon ſome new opinions. An attempt was made to reconcile theſe vulgar notions, with the more refined ideas of the people of Greece; but the names, and the rites, which underwent no alteration, were evident proofs of the eſſential difference, which exiſted between theſe opinions, and the primitive dogmas.(n) Cicero derives the

(n) What relation is there between Cronos, Zeus, Ares, Hermes, Poſeidon, and Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Neptune?

word *Jupiter*, from *juvare*, to help,(*o*) to aſſiſt; and indeed, the inſcriptions, *Jovi Statori*, *Jovi Feretrio*, frequently to be met with on altars, ſeem to mean no more than *to the aſſiſting power, who ſtopped the courſe of the enemy*; *to the aſſiſting power, who ſtruck the enemy*. It is alſo very certain that the whole hiſtory of the Roman Mars, hath no connection with the hiſtory of the Grecian Ares. Even Flora is abſolutely a Roman divinity. Lactantius(*p*) pretends that ſhe was indebted for her origin, to a courtezan, who, having acquired a large fortune, left a conſiderable ſum, by will, to keep up the annual celebration of public games, in honour of her memory. This author adds, that after a certain period, the ſenate, humiliated by the idea of having paid ſuch homage to a proſtitute, thought it proper to turn her into the goddeſs of flowers. It is, in this place, unneceſſary to relate, how the Romans, not much contented with their own gods, had frequent

(*o*) Some have derived the word Jupiter, from *JAH*, Jehova Pater; but I cannot think that this alliance of the Greek word Pater, with the Hebrew word Jehovah, appears very natural.

(*p*) Inſtit. l. 4. c. 20.

frequent recourſe to the gods of the Greeks; how they conſulted their oracles, whenſoever they imagined that they might enjoy the power of drawing up the anſwers; and how they went in ſearch of the god of Epidaurus, but had the addreſs to permit his eſcape, leſt the dreadful ſerpent, which repreſented Eſculapius, might not be acknowledged. One very important obſervation is, that religion, whatſoever might be her nature, remained conſtantly within the hands of the Great; and ſerved them as a kind of *Ægis*, againſt the tumultuous inſurrections of the people, whom they oppreſſed.

We have already obſerved, in the former part of this work, that the privilege of taking the auſpices, was a diſtinguiſhing mark of the eſſential difference exiſting between the nobility, and the people. We have declared, that by this privilege alone, the condition of the citizens was enabled to ſtand good in law; becauſe no other privilege could have ſtamped an authenticity on their marriages. The whole Roman hiſtory teſtifies, how neceſſary it was, for all thoſe, who were deſtined to fill the firſt offices of the magiſtracy; and I could produce ſeveral inſtances of conſuls,

quitting the armies, becauſe ſome formalities had been wanting, during their inauguration. Every one can recollect the fine diſcourſes, related by Livy, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius, wherein thoſe authors have ſo ably unfolded the principles on which the Patricians grounded their claims, in ſupport of the excluſion of the Plebeians, from the conſulſhip. What! exclaimed the Appii, and their adherents, ſhall we, then ſee at the head of our armies, conſuls who never took the auſpices; inauſpicati conſules! in ſhort, nothing hath been more clearly proved, than that intimate union ſubſiſting, amongſt the Romans, between their government, and their religion, but more particularly, between religion and ariſtocracy. Thus, we need not heſitate to aſſert, that the efforts of the people, ſtruck equally againſt the government and againſt the religion: and as James the firſt was wont to obſerve, *no biſhops, no king*, ſo, at Rome, it might have been ſaid, *the more nobles, the more religion.*

Democracy, ſhaken for a moment, by Sylla, was continually acquiring freſh vigour until, having degenerated into anarchy, the licentiouſneſs of all occaſioned the deſpo-

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tiſm of a ſingle one. But we muſt not loſe ſight of a very important truth; namely, that the people never erect an individual into a deſpot, except from a principle of hatred againſt the great, who tyranniſe over them. We can produce a very recent inſtance of this, from Denmark;(q) there, the people erected an individual into a deſpot, with an enthuſiaſm equal to that enthuſiaſm which animated the Romans, at the time of the expulſion of their kings. A very ſlight acquaintance with the Roman hiſtory, is ſufficient to convince us, that the moſt diſaproved emperors, ſuch as Caligula, Nero, and Commodus, had maintained ſome degree of favour, with the people, merely, becauſe they deſpiſed the ſenate, and perſecuted the nobility. And yet, it was not neceſſary to have been a Caligula, or a Nero, but only a politic prince, in order to have perceived, that the people, becoming, from day to day, more and more abject, might eaſily have been gained over, by diſtributions and ſpectacles; whereas the laſt traces of the government ſubſiſted ſtill amidſt the ſenate, and

(q) In 1660.

and the ſmall number of nobles, who were the relicts of thoſe illuſtrious families, the ancient objects of public veneration. Now, we have already explained the intimate union, which ſubſiſted, for a long time, between ariſtocracy, and religion. Beſides, every thing which is ancient, every thing which acquires a particular and independant importance, wears, in the eyes of deſpots, a kind of pedantic characteriſtic, which troubles them. It was, therefore, as much through inclination, as policy, that the emperors ſuffered all religious opinions to fall into diſgrace: *(r)* and unfortunately for theſe opinions amidſt the ſmall number of good princes, who ſucceeded Auguſtus, there were found only philoſophers, too virtuous to be expoſed to fear and repentance, the uſual food of ſuperſtition, and too enlightened to cheriſh a medley of abſurdities, with the ſplendour, which was reflected from the throne. It became ſtill worſe, when foreigners ſupplied the

(r) Tiberius, whoſe policy aimed the moſt dreadful blows at the authority of the ſenate, ſeems to have been particularly free from all thoſe ſuperſtitions of his country, which he found acting in oppoſition, to his arbitrary views.

the place of princes, who were ſcarcely Roman citizens, and of courſe, gave themſelves no concern about the nobility; when the principal employments, whether civil, or military, were entruſted to Barbarians, who had never read Homer, nor heard either of Mercury, or Apollo. Theſe ferocious men, accuſtomed to worſhip their god, under the form of a wolf, and to revere only the ſpirit of the mountain, or the genius of the tempeſts, found themſelves exactly in the ſame ſituation, with thoſe ſavages of America, whom the moſt ignorant of our miſſionaries converted, by thouſands. Full of contempt for the Romans, they rejected their gods, of whoſe hiſtory they were ignorant, and whoſe power they defied.

This was the period at which the chriſtian religion began to extend herſelf. Her members, more diſperſed abroad, and more zealous, continually animated by the ſpirit of making proſelytes, frequently irritated by perſecution, and, moreover, inculcating a doctrine, very oppoſite to that contempt which the Romans and the Greeks expreſſed againſt the Barbarians, muſt, conſequently, have

have preſented themſelves to theſe laſt in a more favourable point of view; and the ſimplicity of their dogmas, (for we ſhall obſerve farther on, that nothing could have been more ſimple, than the tenets introduced by the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors) was much better ſuited to the comprehenſion of theſe plain and properly-tempered minds, which had not yet been either infected by ſuperſtitions, or ſubtiliſed by idle dialectics.

To ſum up the whole, then, we may conclude that Greece was the land of paganiſm; that all the religious ideas, eſtabliſhed in this country, and united to polity, were overthrown by the conqueſts of the Romans; that the Roman government becoming, at firſt, ariſtocratical, then democratical, and at length monarchial, religion which was the ſupport of ariſtocracy muſt neceſſarily have fallen with it; and, in ſhort, that the invaſions of the Barbarians gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the deſtruction of the laſt remains of the ancient opinions.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

On the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.

WE cannot too often repeat what hath been already mentioned, namely, that we have reſolved, whilſt we trace the progreſs of chriſtianity, to enquire only into the human or natural means; means, the importance of which the theologians themſelves do not affect to deny: but indeed, if providence had choſen to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of worſhip upon miracles,*(s)* it would have been ſufficient to have

(s) Origen, in his defence againſt Celſus, agrees with the Pagan philoſophy, in ſuppoſing that ſeveral miracles might have been wrought by magic; and the only rule which he preſcribes for diſtinguiſhing the miracles, which proceeded from Heaven, is founded on the morality,

have wrought at Rome a ſmall part of thoſe miracles, of which the Jews only were the witneſſes; or even to have fixed on theſe, ſuch a character of authenticity, as to have rendered it impoſſible that they ſhould ever have been called in queſtion, or paſſed over in ſilence, which two of the moſt learned men of Judæa, have, notwithſtanding, done. *(t)* On the contrary, we perceive that the firſt advances of chriſtianity were ſlow and laborious, and particularly, whilſt we examine it under its political relations, and by its influence over the ſtate of ſociety; this ſpecies of inveſtigation being our chief object.

We muſt, here, guard againſt the indolence of the human mind, againſt that particular kind

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rality, the doctrine, and the manners of thoſe who worked thoſe miracles. No one is ignorant of the prodigies brought forth by the magicians of Pharaoh; and it is alſo well known, that when the heathens placed the miracles of Apollonius Tyanus, in oppoſition to the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, the chriſtians, in anſwer to this objection, were ſatisfied with ſcrutinizing the life and character of this philoſopher; as, in their opinion, it was very immaterial, what miracle he might have performed, if it were certain that his doctrince and his conduct deſerved neither reſpect nor confidence.

(t) Joſephus and Philo.

kind of curiosity, which flies from application, dreads the falling into doubt more than it likes instruction, and is the oftnest satisfied with some principal points whereon it may rest its wavering opinion. We resemble those travellers, who casting their eyes from the summit of some mountain upon an extensive plain below, observe here and there a tower and a steeple, and then return, persuaded that they are acquainted with the country. We know that Jesus Christ hath given his name to that religion, which all, who are stiled christians, at this time profess; and we believe that immediately after Jesus Christ, there was a christian religion. The extreme aversion, also, which prevails amongst the christians of our days, and the Jews, inclines us to suppose, that there must have been, from the beginning, a very distinguishable scission, an openly-declared war between the two religions. All these opinions are not conformable to the facts. Several historical monuments prove that the Romans for a long time confounded the Jews with the Christians. I shall only produce one instance, by a quotation from Suetonius, wherein that author, enumerating the laudable actions of Claudius,

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at the beginning of his reign, ſaith, that he drove from Rome the Jews, who continually revolted, and were *ſpurred on by Chriſtus.(u)* Now, Suetonius wrote under Trajan; that is, more than one hundred years after Jeſus Chriſt. It is certain, that Tacitus, who lived at the ſame period, uſes the word Chriſtian, when he informs us, that Nero was deſirous of making that ſuſpicion generally circulated concerning his having ſet fire to Rome, alight upon the chriſtians; but he ſpeaks of them as only a ſociety of ſectaries iſſuing from Judæa; "repreſſaque in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, &c." The chriſtians themſelves did not immediately aſſume this reſpectable name;*(x)* ſome ſtiled themſelves *Jeſſeans*, from *Jeſſe*, the father of David;

(u) Judæos impulſore Chreſto aſſiduè tumultuantes Roma expulit. Dion mentions one Acilius Glabrio, who, under the reign of Domitian, was accuſed of atheiſm, becauſe he became a Jew; Bingham ſays that we muſt, here, underſtand Chriſtian. . . . See Antiquities of the church, b. 1. ch. 2.

(x) According to the acts of the apoſtles, the faithful, that is, the new converts, took the name of Chriſtians at Antioch, from the time of the apoſtles: but it appears that this appellation did not grow common until a long while afterwards.

David; or rather from Jeſus, their Maſter. Others were called *Therapeutæ*; others, the *faithful believers*, the *elect*,(y) *contemplators*, &c. Some amongſt them bore the appellation of *Piſciculi*, *little fiſhes*, either becauſe they were engendered, or regenerated by the waters of baptiſm; or on account of the initial letters of theſe words; Ιησᾶς χριστος Θεᾶ υιος Σωτηρ, *Jeſus Chriſtus*, *Dei filius*, *Servator*, which form the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ, a fiſh. Others even conſented to paſs for a ſect of philoſophers, as may be collected from theſe words of Melito, in his treatiſe *de Paſcha*: "hæc enim philoſophiæ ſecta quam profitemur apud barbaros viguit."(z) Beſides, as they had no temples, and as they celebrated no public worſhip, it became natural to conſider them, rather as ſimple ſectaries, than as the apoſtles of a new religion. Mr. Crevier obſerves with juſtice, that before the perſecution

(y) Πιστοι, εκλεκτοι, γνωστικοι. See Bingham's antiquities of the church.

(z) This ſect of philoſophers, to which we allude, began to acquire ſome reputation amongſt the Barbarians. See Euſeb. hiſt. eccles. l. 4.

of Maximin, that is to say, *(a)* two hundred and forty years after Jesus Christ, history doth not, any where, assert that the christians had churches. *(b)* Arnobius, an author of the third age, positively saith, "we erect no altars, we offer no incense:" *(c)* and, also observes, "that they believe not in the gods, who believe that their residence is in the temples, and that they should offer up incense to them, and honour their images." Let me add, that if an emperor, so well instructed, so well employed in the performance of his duty, as Trajan was, had no particular knowledge of the christian opinions; and if the historians have scarcely made any mention of them, till the reign of Constantine, it is reasonable to conclude, that they were either very little expanded, at their first opening, or that they were not seen in that important light, wherein their merit should have placed them.

If,

(a) Monsieur Crevier hath committed a small error in chronology. It was only in the 238th year of Christ, that Maximin, after an usurpation of almost three years, was assassinated. K.

(b) Hist. des Emp. tom. 5. p. 111.

(c) Non altaria fabricemus, non cæsorum sanguinem animantium demus, non thura, &c. l. 6. adversus gentes.

If, on the other hand, we examine with attention the works of the fathers of the church, or of thoſe authors, whom ſhe hath conſecrated, ſuch as Origen, Euſebius, Arnobius, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, &c. we ſhall perceive that the ſeparation of the Chriſtians and the Jews was not ſo quickly brought about, as ſome perſons have imagined. It appears, indeed, from the *acts of the apoſtles*, that the preaching of Saint Paul, and the converſion of the Gentiles, gave birth to a ſyſtem of chriſtianity, more pure, and more diſengaged from judaical obſervances; and yet Saint Peter remained, for a long while, attached to theſe laſt; and the church of Jeruſalem adhered ſo obſtinately to them, that Euſebius poſitively aſſerts, that there was, in this city, a ſucceſſion of fifteen circumciſed biſhops.*(d)* The church, or the congregation*(e)* of Jeruſalem had not, therefore, renounced the law of Moſes, although the preaching of Jeſus Chriſt was admitted. There is even every appearance, that the

(d) See Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 5.

(e) The church, in Greek, Εκκλησια, ſignifies an aſſembly, a congregation.

Jews, having been, for a long time, ſettled at Rome, maintained a great influence over the newly-riſing ſtate of chriſtianity. This may be ſeen from the letter aſcribed to Saint Clement, the Pope, and ſuppoſed to have been written before the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. This letter doth not, in any manner, treat of the tenets introduced by Jeſus Chriſt, except that tenet, relative to the reſurrection, which was known to the Jews before; and this too is ſupported by the example of the Phenix, a ſubject much more properly belonging to fable than to the goſpel. The principal point, into which Saint Clement enters, is the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline which had been diſturbed at Corinth, by a ſedition amongſt the faithful. He, very forcibly, and with great latitude, inculcates an hierarchical ſubordination; but he draws all his arguments from that ſubordination eſtabliſhed at Jeruſalem. He ſaith: "the high prieſt, the ſacrificing prieſts, and the Levites have all their ſeveral functions. The Laity are obliged to follow the neceſſary precepts, &c." A perpetual ſacrifice is not offered in all places;

places; nor is the ſacrifice of prayer, and for ſin offered, except at Jeruſalem.(f)

Theſe paſſages clearly prove the union of the primitive Chriſtians, with the metropolis of judaiſm, and the temple of Jeruſalem. In more than an age afterwards, Saint Juſtin declares, that a man may be ſaved, if he obſerve the ſabbath; but he adds that, the deſtruction of the temple of Jeruſalem hath rendered ſacrifices impoſſible.(g) Origen, in his defence againſt Celſus, violently repels the reproach of deſertion, with which they were loaden, who forſook the law of Moſes;(h) he anſwers, that they, who embraced the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, never quitted the ancient law; that they called themſelves only Ebionites, that is, beggars, receivers of alms;(i) that Saint Peter was always attached

(f) See Hiſt. Eccl. de M. Fleury, tom. 1. 4to. p. 248.

(g) See his dialogue with Tripho.

(h) See l. 2. adverſus Celſum.

(i) The ſpirit of charity and alms-giving which manifeſted itſelf, from the firſt appearance of chriſtianity, hath contributed, not a little, to facilitate its progreſs. Under a deſpotic government, like the government over which the emperors preſided, there muſt neceſſarily have

to the ancient law; that he even refuſed to confer with the Gentiles, leſt he might have alarmed the Jews; and that Saint Paul ſaith himſelf, that he became a Jew for the advantage

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have been many indigent perſons and beggars; under a government, ſtill preſerving the traces of ariſtocracy, foreigners, and newly-introduced individuals, could not avoid the being involved in many humiliating circumſtances. The firſt found a reſource in the enjoyment of a ſhare from the offerings. The laſt received ſome conſolation from thoſe ideas of equality and brotherhood which reigned amongſt the Chriſtians.

It ſeems as if the heathens were but little affected with this chriſtian charity, which, indiſcriminately, received with open arms, all conditions, all ages, and particularly the two ſexes. On the contrary, they took, from hence, an advantage, to reproach the Chriſtians with having diſperſed their dogmas, only, either amongſt children and ſilly women, *mulierculas*, or amongſt the loweſt artiſans, ſuch as coblers, dyers, &c. It may be ſeen, with what confidence, Origen (l. 3.) refutes this objection, by ſhewing that, although theſe aſſemblies might have appeared contemptible, from the manner in which they were compoſed, yet their object was ſacred and ſublime; and that, after all, it was no great misfortune, if thoſe children, whom they ſaw running to them, did eſcape from their frivolous tutors, who were only capable of teaching them fables, &c. Such as wiſh to ſee a fuller account of the ſituation of the primitive Chriſtians, muſt conſult the learned diſſertation, by Mr. Lami, *de eruditione Apoſtolorum*,

vantage of the Jews.(k) In ſhort, it ſeems, as if this wiſe man thought that the law ſhould ſubſiſt, until the eyes of mankind might be ſufficiently opened, to diſcern the myſtical meaning of the ſcripture, and to underſtand all thoſe figures concealed under vulgar expreſſions. It is in this ſenſe, that he cites a paſſage from the goſpel, in which Jeſus Chriſt ſaith to his diſciples: "adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, ſed non poteſtis portare modo. Cum autem venerit ſpiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem." "I have as yet many things to ſay unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit, when He, the ſpirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth." (St. John, c. 16. v. 12. 13.) Ori-

lorum, in which he proves, that the apoſtles and diſciples were not only ſimple and unpoliſhed men, but that even ſome criminals were found amongſt them. He, alſo, diſcovers beyond a contradiction, that the goſpels are filled with errors in language, &c. Some learned men have obſerved that if the Vulgate Bible was written in ſuch bad Latin, it was, chiefly, becauſe the tranſlation was intended for thoſe who did not underſtand a more elegant Latin.

(k) "Unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews." 1 Cor. c. 9. v. 20. Two paſſages in the Acts confirm this circumſtance. C. 16. v. 3. C. 21. v. 21. &c. K.

gen doth not ſcruple to aſſert, that all the chriſtian doctrine is not comprized in the Goſpel, Jeſus Chriſt having found his diſciples too ignorant to receive the explanation of the figurative and myſtical ſenſe of the ſcripture. (*l*)

Nevertheleſs, the period was already arrived, at which the chriſtians were to ſeparate them-

(*l*) It were to be wiſhed, that a paſſion for the interpretation of figures and prophecies had not carried the moſt celebrated authors too far. I could indeed furniſh a multitude of examples of the abuſes which have reſulted from this paſſion, but I ſhall content myſelf with producing only ſome few inſtances, and, ſolely with the intention of proving how neceſſary it is that a writer ſhould have recourſe to his reaſon, even in the very moment, when he has the ſtrongeſt grounds for ſuppoſing himſelf inſpired. St. Juſtin introduces in his firſt apology, this paſſage from Geneſis, "non deficiet princeps ex Juda, nec dux a femore ejus, donec veniat, qui repoſitus eſt," or rather, "qui ſtatutus eſt," or any expreſſion, (for Le Clerc, in his "bibliotheque choiſie," hath proved that this paſſage was ſuſpected to have been interpolated,) "et ipſe erit expectatio gentium, ligans ad vitem pullum ſuum, et lavans in ſanguine uvæ ſtolam ſuam." "A prince of the race of Judah ſhall not be wanting, nor a chief, iſſuing from his thigh, (or from his thighs) until he ſhall come, who is appointed to come; and he ſhall be the expectation of nations, binding his foal unto the vine, and waſhing his

themſelves, entirely, from the Jews. After the deſtruction of the temple of Jeruſalem, there no longer remained a point of re-union for thoſe who continued attached to the ancient law. The centre of the Judaical Catholicity (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) could

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his robe in the blood of the grape."* Now, according to St. Juſtin, theſe words, "binding his foal unto the vine," mean Jeſus Chriſt, who, before he made his entry into Jeruſalem, unlooſed an aſs, which was tied to the foot of the vine; "lavans in ſanguine uvæ," the blood of the grape ſignifies the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, who, not being made up of human blood, is better characteriſed by the blood of the grape; "et ſtolam ejus" his tunic, his robe, allude to the faithful, who compoſe, as it were, the cloathing of Jeſus Chriſt. Saint Juſtin doth not ſtop even at this ſingular commentary. He ſaith, that the demons, in order to deceive mankind, have imitated all theſe figures in a fable of their own

* *In our Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible,* (Gen. c. 49. v. 10. 11.) *the paſſage runs thus: "the ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his aſſes colt unto the choice vine, he waſhed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes." If the reader be deſirous of peruſing a very learned explanation, he need only be informed, that the celebrated biſhop of Glouceſter hath written the Divine Legation. The third and fourth ſections of the fifth book, and the firſt parts of the fourth volume, abound with ſtrokes of erudition, peculiar to this right reverend author. It may, alſo, be proper to refer to the "letters on the Septuagint" by Mr. Spearman.* K.

could no more recover itſelf: it was become impoſſible to ſacrifice at Jeruſalem: the means, therefore, of obſerving the ancient law, were all exterminated. It is this argument, which St. Juſtin employs againſt Tripho; and it is this argument, of which Tertullian hath alſo availed

own production. Thus, they have mentioned Bacchus, as alluded to, in the paſſage, "ligans ad vitem pullum ſuum, et lavans in ſanguine uvæ," "binding unto the vine, &c." "In fact, (he adds) as they knew not whether pullum ſignified a foal, or the colt of an aſs, they have introduced an aſs into the myſteries of Bacchus; (probably the aſs of Silenius:) and not to be detected in an error, in caſe that pullum ſignified a foal, they have alſo introduced the horſe Pegaſus. With the ſame view, they have compoſed the hiſtory of Hercules, to correſpond with that paſſage relative to David, "fortis ut Gigas." It is true (he proceeds) that they have not mentioned the croſs; but to ſupply this defect in prophecies and fables, God hath choſen that this ſign of redemption ſhould be repreſented every where; as in ſhips, the maſts and yards of which form the ſhape of a croſs; amongſt the implements of agriculture, ſuch as the rake; and even in the ſhape of the human frame, which is deſtined to be upright like a pillar, whilſt the noſe, with the reſt of the body, repreſents a kind of croſs." The ſame author, conſtantly employed in diſcovering the ſymbol of the croſs, obſerves, in another place, that the Paſchal lamb ſhould be eaten roaſted, becauſe a lamb on the gridiron, or the ſpit, reſembles the figure of a crucified man.

Lactantius

availed himſelf, after him. Chriſtianity muſt then have drawn a double advantage from this event; for whilſt it gave a mortal wound to the Jews, by deſtroying their political and religious

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Lactantius, that elegant and learned writer, falls into the ſame abſurdity, when he ſaith, that carnal circumciſion is no more than the figure of the ſpiritual circumciſion, which diſcovers the heart; for, according to his opinion, there exiſts a certain exterior likeneſs between the part which circumciſion lays open, and the figure of a heart. "Quoniam pars illa que circumciditur, habet quandam ſimilitudinem cordis." (Inſt. l. 4.)

Of all the eccleſiaſtical authors, Origen is the moſt attached to the figurative ſenſe. He ſeems to have involved this ſyſtem, even in cabaliſtical ideas; for, in refuting Celſus, who maintains that it is not ridiculous to invoke the divinity by every kind of name, ſuch as *Adonaï*, *Jupiter*, *Jehovah*, &c. he aſſerts, that all the names of the Patriarchs are myſtical, or cabaliſtical; and that an invocation of demons could never ſucceed, if, inſtead of making uſe of the names of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, they were to go through with it, in the name of *Father of men*, *Wreſtler*, *Choſen Being*, &c.

Even Saint Cyprian is not free from this reproach, when, inſiſting upon the neceſſity of conſecrating the wine, he ſaith, that Melchiſedeck had conſecrated wine, and that Jeſus Chriſt, who is a ſacrificer of an order, ſuperior to Melchiſedeck, cannot, properly, conſecrate with water: that as wine diſſipates uneaſineſs, ſo the blood of our Lord drives away the old man; that water repreſents the people; and the mixture of the

religious empire, it prepared, at the ſame time, new arms, wherewith to encounter Polytheiſm, by ſending out, into all the provinces of the empire, a great number of men,

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the two liquors, the union of Jeſus Chriſt, with the church. (See hiſt. eccl. de Fleury, tom. 2. p. 190.) But, Saint Barnabas, or the compoſer of the letters which paſs under his name, hath, if poſſible, gone beyond all theſe abſurdities. He perceives within the number of three hundred and eighteen perſons, whom Abraham cauſed to be circumciſed, the name of Jeſus, expreſſed in a cypher, and his croſs repreſented by the letter *Tau*, which enters into the cypher. In the three conſtitutions of Moſes, or rather in his prohibitions againſt the eating of unclean animals, he diſcovers a concealed precept, which he explains thus: "non leporem manducabis" "thou ſhalt not eat of the hare," ſignifies, thou ſhalt not defile boys; becauſe the hare, or probably, the rabbit, every year makes a new hole. "Belluam non manducabis," "thou ſhalt not eat of any wild beaſt" ſignifies, thou ſhalt not be an adulterer, laſcivious, becauſe the wild beaſts (he undoubtedly meant the hyæna) partake of the two ſexes, and alternately enjoy each. "Muſtellam non manducabis," "thou ſhalt not eat of the weaſel," ſignifies, thou ſhalt not proſtitute thy mouth to the moſt infamous of pollutions, (the text is much plainer) "for the muſtella, or weaſel, brings forth at the mouth." Here phyſic and natural hiſtory are as much at a fault as logic. It is needleſs to extend this note any farther, as it, already, ſufficiently marks out the ſpirit, in which the authors of the firſt ages of the church have drawn up their writings.

men, whoſe religion was founded on Deiſm, and whoſe opinions approached much nearer to the doctrine of the Chriſtians, than to the fables of Paganiſm.

Many authors, aſtoniſhed at the ſilence of all the hiſtorians, with regard to the Jewiſh nation, have concluded themſelves juſtified in ſuppoſing them to have been a poor, deſpiſed, and wandering multitude; but they muſt acknowledge, that if their origin was obſcure, yet ample amends were made for this diſadvantage, by their ſubſequent condition. If we may credit Joſephus, the population of Judæa, conſidering the ſmall extent of this province, was very great; but ſeveral writers, leſs ſuſpected of partiality, than Joſephus, aſſert that, under the firſt emperors, the Jews had ſpread themſelves through Paleſtine, Syria, Cilicia, a great part of the Archipelago, and almoſt all Aſia Minor. They had formed eſtabliſhments in moſt of the great cities, but particularly at Cæſarea, at Alexandria, and even at Rome. But, after the bloody wars of Titus, and of Veſpaſian, a ſtill greater number came pouring in, amongſt the provinces of the empire. The majority of theſe Jews, whether diſperſed, and fugitives, or whether

whether ſettled, during a long period, in the commercial cities, ſo far from having been concerned in the death of Jeſus Chriſt, were even ignorant of his name. And as till then, they had been attached to their religion, ſolely by thoſe relations, which they preſerved with their Jeruſalem, and by the cuſtom of either, ſometimes going, or ſending proxies to offer ſacrifices in the temple, it became eaſy for them to accomodate themſelves to the new law, which proved the inutility of theſe ſacrifices, and which ſeemed ſo fully juſtified by the event. But, whether they conſented to embrace the chriſtian faith, or whether they perſiſted in the obſervation of their ceremonies, and their dogmas, their contempt for the Gods of the heathens, and their averſion, from the mode in which theſe Gods were worſhipped, ſupplied the two religions with ſufficient matter for reciprocal and ſatirical abuſe. Hence, it hath happened, that the profane writers frequently confounded the Jews, and the Chriſtians together, in thoſe charges of atheiſm, which they have, on ſeveral occaſions, levelled againſt them; but theſe odious imputations, deſigned, at all times, to irritate the people,

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and ſpur on the magiſtrates, brought over ſeveral new converts to chriſtianity.(*m*)

Many philoſophers, who beheld with indignation, thoſe fables with which the common people were amuſed, and were weary of the vain diſputes of the ſchools, felt a growing partiality towards a religion, the baſis of which was the eſtabliſhed notion of the exiſtence of ONE ALMIGHTY AND ONLY GOD. They ſoon endeavoured to unite themſelves with the Chriſtians; and they were not leſs

(*m*) Much may be ſaid, concerning the manner in which the Chriſtian religion was affected, by the deſtruction of the temple of Jeruſalem. A modern writer hath very ingeniouſly obſerved, that the clergy drew from this circumſtance, an advantageous opportunity of increaſing their own conſequence. For the biſhops, or inſpectors, *Epiſcopoi*, the elders, or honourable perſons, *Preſbuteroi*, and the overſeers, or attending prieſts, *Diaconoi*, who were but the miniſters of a ſociety, conſidering equality as their firſt principle, did not heſitate to liken themſelves to the Jewiſh hierarchy; the firſt comparing themſelves to the great Pontiffs, the ſecond to the prieſts, *Sacerdotes*, and the laſt to the Levites. "Cum poſt urbem Hieroſolymam denuò everſam, ſpes omnis Judæis adempta eſſet rempublicam ſuam inſtaurandi, Epiſcopi ſimiles tum videri volebant Pontificis maximi Judæorum, Preſbites eodem quo ſacerdotes loco verſari dicebantur, Diaconi cum Levitis comparabantur. (Moſhemii inſtit. Hiſt. Eccl. ſect. 2. p. 2.)

leſs ſtricken with the ſimplicity of their doctrine, than with the mildneſs of their moral ſyſtem. No ſuperſtition, no ſacrifices, no exterior worſhip were found amongſt them; the faithful were, then, ſatisfied, if they aſſembled, from time to time, in ſome great hall, and moſt frequently, at the houſes of their particular friends: there, the Elder (*Preſbus*) inſtructed them in the moſt familiar manner; this cuſtom was either preceded, or followed by ſome lecture, taken out of the Goſpel, or the Bible; and the whole was concluded with a ſimple repaſt, made up of ſuch offerings, as the faithful, each according to his abilities, had brought, whilſt the poor and the rich ſat down, promiſcuouſly, to the ſame meal. The bread, and the wine were always bleſſed by the Elder, and this entertainment was either followed, or accompanied by ſome canticles, in praiſe of God.(*n*)

Equality

(*n*) The form of the Chriſtian aſſemblies, afterwards, underwent ſome alteration. The perſecutions to which the faithful were expoſed, frequently obliged them to aſſemble before the break of day, in order to avoid the being diſcovered. They were, then, contented with making their oblations, and bleſſing the bread and wine. The repaſt was either neglected, or put off till night,

Equality amongſt mankind, charity, beneficence, and the diſtributing of alms, were, at once, recommended, and practiſed, in theſe pious aſſemblies: where could humanity, where could true philoſophy have ſeen a more reſpectable object?

But chriſtianity began to break looſe from her once excluſive connexion, with ſimple and obſcure individuals. The ſpirit of diſcuſſion, ſo oppoſite to the ſpirit of charity,

night, and a convenient place of meeting was fixed on, againſt that time. Two reaſons rendered this arrangement neceſſary; firſt, becauſe to have eaten early on the morning muſt have been an extraordinary circumſtance, and eſpecially, when this was done in commemoration of the laſt ſupper of Jeſus Chriſt; ſecondly, becauſe the Chriſtians were fearful, leſt it ſhould be perceived, that they had drunk wine before the hour of dinner, the which circumſtance, not being uſual, might have detected them. When they afterwards began to enjoy more tranquility, they continued to aſſemble on the morning, and to diſtribute the bread and wine, as ſoon as their oblations and prayers were concluded. The divine ſervice was then divided into two parts: the *Catachumenes*, the Strangers, *Audientes*, the Penitents, *Lugentes*, or *Hyemantes*, were admitted during the lectures, and ſome of the prayers, which were, for the moſt part, in the form of our litanies: they were, then, ſent away; and this was called "Miſſa Catechumenorum,"

had found means to introduce itſelf amongſt the faithful, who, either compelled by perſecutions, to examine more narrowly into their dogmas, or encouraged, and tempted by their firſt ſucceſs, to engage in controverſy, were ſoon obſerved to make their appearance in public, and to grow familiar with the ſchools. Platoniſm was, at that time, the moſt faſhionable doctrine, amongſt the philoſophical dogmatiſts. It was, indeed, becoming corrupt, and ſo mingled with ideas of

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menorum," the diſmiſſion of the Catachumens. Then, began the prayers, which were followed by a long thanſgiving, or the *Euchariſt*, ευχαριστια επι το πολλυ, and the communion; after which the faithful were diſmiſſed; and this was called "Miſſa fidelium."

We muſt, however, confeſs that ſome abuſes crept into theſe aſſemblies of the firſt Chriſtians, all ſacred and reſpectable as they may appear to us. The biſhops frequently reproached the rich, with having brought to the repaſt and to the communion, nice meats, which they reſerved, ſolely, for themſelves; whilſt the poor had ſcarcely enough to ſatisfy their hunger. The contrary, ſometimes, happened, and the poor partook ſo plentifully of the offerings, as to become intoxicated, and that ſo violently, that it was neceſſary to carry them away.

Conſult, on the foregoing ſubject of all this note, the apology of Saint Juſtin, the letters of Pliny, and Bingham's antiquities of the church, b. 15. &c.

of the force of Theurgy, or Magic, as to have degenerated into a kind of ſuperſtitious ſyſtem; but yet the firſt principle of this philoſophy was, conſtantly, the eſtabliſhed notion of ONE ETERNAL AND ONLY GOD, who had acted upon matter, and given a form to the chaos. Plato imagined that God, who comprehended within Himſelf, an univerſal idea of all poſſible things, could not have manifeſted himſelf, but by means of a Thought, an *Active Reaſon*, which He called the Son of God, His Firſt-Born, His Word, (λογος.) It was by the Word, that God had placed in the World a vivifying Spirit, an active ſoul. It was by the Word, that Man had been created, and that a Soul had fallen to his lot. It was by the Word, alſo, that the univerſe had been peopled with Genii, and Demons, (Δαιμονοι) who occupied the ſpace between God, inhabiting the upper regions, and man, dwelling on the ſurface of the earth. Theſe ideas, borrowed, in a great meaſure, from the Gymnoſophiſts,(o) tallied much more eaſily with Chriſtianity, than with the Materialiſm of Ariſtotle,

(o) See Hyde, Holwell, &c.

Ariſtotle, and the atoms of Epicurus. Hence, aroſe that eagerneſs, with which the majority of the Fathers of the Church, ſo haſtily, availed themſelves of theſe ideas: hence aroſe that reſpect, and even that enthuſiaſm, with which they mentioned the divine Plato;(p) ſome aſſerting that God had revealed to him His Myſteries; others declaring that he had been in Judæa, and there received the knowledge of His doctrine: but, to the laſt opinion, even Saint Auguſtin, in ſpite of his great veneration for this philoſopher, could not, poſſibly, ſubſcribe; nay, this author hath taken the pains to collect authorities, from which he proves, that Plato died long before the tranſlation of the Septuagint had enabled the Greeks to underſtand the books of Moſes.(q)

As

(p) See "de civitate Dei. l. 8. c. 2."

(q) All the works of the firſt fathers of the church, breathe the ſpirit of Platoniſm. Saint Juſtin expreſsly ſaith, that if he quitted the ſchools, in which the doctrine of Plato was taught, it was not on account of its being contrary to the doctrine of the Chriſtians, but becauſe it was not entirely the ſame. "Non equidem quod alienæ ſunt a Chriſto Platonis doctrinæ, ſed quod non ſunt ex omni parte ſimiles." (Apolog. 1.) This philoſophy, involved in ſuch a ſimilitude to chriſtianity, main-

As enthuſiaſm and ſubtlety continually leap over all bounds, ſome diſadvantages, of courſe, reſulted from this union between philoſophy, and religion. In fact, if a ſmall number of ſimple and upright ſouls were entruſted with the preſervation of the faith, yet the world was full of *Platonic Chriſtians*, and

maintained an influence even over opinions, reſpecting worſhip, or, to ſpeak more properly, over the notions of the relation between the creature, and the Creator; to this philoſophy, Quietiſm ſeems indebted for its origin, as Saint Auguſtin expreſsly aſſerts, that, according to the Platonic ſyſtem, the Philoſopher ought to be in love with God; and that he who ſhall have thus loved God, will be entitled to enjoy him. "Ipſum autem verum, ac ſummum bonum Plato dicit Deum, unde vult eſſe philoſophum amatorem Dei, ut quoniam philoſophia ad beatam viam tendit, fruens Deo ſit beatus qui Deum amaverit." (de civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 8.)

Origen, whoſe character is that of having violated every principle, hath perverted the Platonic philoſophy, more than any of the eccleſiaſtical writers. I ſhall only produce one example, from amongſt a thouſand; it is taken from his Apology, (book 6.) where, quoting theſe very obſcure words of Plato; "in rebus omnibus quas ad ſcientiam adhibere neceſſe eſt, tria ſunt, quartum autem ipſamet ſcientia: horum primum eſt nomen, alterum ſermo, tertium idolum, quartum ſcientia:" three things are neceſſary to facilitate the attainment of knowledge, which is but the fourth thing; firſt the name,

Chriſtian Platoniſts. A paſſion for Metaphyſics ſoon became connected with a paſſion for Magic, and then, every thing was involved in controverſies, and in prodigies. Hence ſprang thoſe ſchiſms, and hereſies, which, even in the moſt proſperous times, threw the church into diviſions, and armed her children againſt

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name, ſecondly, the diſcourſe, or the word, thirdly, the image, or the figure, and fourthly, knowledge, or ſcience. Origen obſerves, that the Chriſtians adopted the ſame principle, and that Saint John, the Baptiſt, is the name, the voice, "vox clamantis in deſerto;" Jeſus Chriſt, the diſcourſe, or the word; that the ſenſible form, ("forma quæ in anima impreſſa manet poſtquam in illa Chriſtus ſuum verbum, ſua vulnera impreſſit") anſwers to the image, or the figure, and in ſhort, that the ſame is, alſo, ſcience or knowledge. It is this Platonic delirium, which makes Origen conſtantly believe that the Angels, enjoyed within themſelves, a portion of the Divinity. He ſaith, "the reaſon why I do not adore them, is, becauſe I have thought that, as men are frequently deceived, either by their own ideas, or by the miſtakes of others, ſo amongſt the ſouls, which have quitted the bodies, in which they reſided, amongſt even the Angels, and the Demons, ſome may be found, who, ſeduced by certain probabilities, or led aſtray by ſome ſophiſtry, might become capable of pretending to be Gods. Now, as it is difficult for men to unravel all this myſtery, the plaineſt, and beſt method is, to offer no adoration, to any beings of this order.

againſt each other. The ſincerity of plain dealing was ſoon ſunk amidſt the implacable violence which infected the theological diſputes. Perplexed in their endeavours to ſupport a ſet of frivolous and obſcure opinions, they were obliged to have recourſe to artifice: and as the ſimplicity of the true Chriſtian doctrine, diſdained to mingle with all theſe cavillings, they counterfeited books, and forged the oracles of the Sibyls. Unfortunately, theſe illuſions were not only elevated into credit, by a falſe and extravagant zeal; but it too frequently happened, that authors, reputable in every other reſpect, fell into the ſnare, and thus, brought into queſtion the truths, which they were anxious to inculcate. It is a matter of concern, to obſerve ſuch a writer, as Lactantius,*(r)* confidently, quoting paſſages from the works of Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, and the books of the Erythræan Sibyl; productions acknowledged to have been counterfeited, and in which the forgery betrays itſelf, by the bad policy of their authors, who were ſo abſurd as to expreſs their meaning, more clearly,

(r) See Inſtit. l. 4.

than all the ancient Prophets have expreſſed theirs.

The misfortune, entailed upon the majority of the Eccleſiaſtical writers, of the three firſt ages, of having fallen into ſome hereſy, may be conſidered as a puniſhment, inflicted upon them, becauſe they abandoned the ſimplicities of the Goſpel, for the ſubtleties of the ſchools. Indeed, not to mention the opinion of the Millenarians, which was, almoſt generally received amongſt them, it is evident, that, at one time, they maintained the Metempſycoſis, or the tranſmigration of ſouls, into the bodies of animals; (a doctrine embraced by Saint Juſtin) *(s)* at another time, they aſſerted, (witneſs Tertullian) that the ſoul, and even God were material; *(t)* and,

(s) "Qui autem videndi (Deum) facultate indigni judicati ſunt, quidnam inquit (Triphon) patiuntur? in aliquo ferarum corpore velut in carcere vinciuntur, atque id ſupplicium eorum eſt." He ſaith, alſo, that ſouls, being created, as the world was created, are, like the world, periſhable. "Quâ de causâ, et moriuntur, et puniuntur." (Dialog.)

(t) "Nos autem animam corporalem, et hic profitemur, et in ſuo volumine probamus habentem proprium genus ſubſtantiæ, et ſoliditatis, per quam quid, et ſentire, et pati poſſit." And, in another place, "quis negabit Deum eſſe corpus? &c."

and, at another time, they denied, with Arnobius, the creation of man; and invalidated the teſtimonies from Geneſis, relative to the creation of the world.*(u)* With reſpect to all this, it may be remarked, that ſuch hath conſtantly been the fate of thoſe writers, who were free, to follow the bent of their underſtandings; and that, if the fathers of the church, in theſe later ages, have not met with the ſame misfortune, they were, in a great

(*u*) See l. 2. adverſus gentes, where he obſerves that, perhaps, an infinity of ages hath paſſed away, ſince the world was created; that it is impoſſible to know the deſigns of God; and ſacrilege to believe, that he created men, ſince experience proves, that they are very wicked, and much inclined to evil.* It is ſingular that Arnobius, a well inſtructed author, and who wrote at the concluſion of the third age, ſhould have been ignorant of the doctrine of original ſin.

* *If I am not miſtaken, the learned author, in this place, alludes to the following paſſage in Arnobius: "ſed procul hæc abeat ſceleratæ opinionis immanitas, ut Deus credatur omnipotens, magnarum, et inviſibilium rerum Sator, et Conditor, Procreator, tam mobiles animas genuiſſe gravitatis, ac ponderis, conſtantiæque nullius: in vitia labiles, in peccatorum genera univerſa declives, &c." . . . . . I have taken the liberty to inſert the Greek quotations in this laſt note, according to the original text. It is more than probable that the paſſages were written in the manuſcript copy of this elegant performance, exactly as they are, here, reſtored, and that the errors and omiſſions have ariſen, ſolely, from the negligence of the printer.* K.

great meaſure, indebted for an exemption from it, to the advantage of having known the deciſions of the Œcumenical church, and to the happy neceſſity, under which they were laid, of ſubmitting their reaſon to the canonical decrees.(x)

But,

(x) Before the patronage of the emperors permitted the biſhops to aſſemble, and form œcumenical councils, there was nothing, which could have ſerved, as an eſtabliſhed rule, in the matter of doctrine. The church, had, as yet, no viſible chief, whoſe authority was acknowledged, or confirmed; for, ſetting aſide the privileges, which the biſhops of Rome might have claimed, as the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, it is certain, that they were, in fact, indebted, for their credit, to their poſition, that is, to the advantage which they enjoyed by keeping their ſee, at the capital. But, before the emperors had embraced the faith, and, particularly, whilſt they perſecuted it, this pre-eminence could not have been very diſtinguiſhed. We may, indeed, perceive that, at the beginning of the fourth age, and at the time of the celebrated quarrel between Donatus, biſhop of Caſæ Nigræ, and Cæcilian, biſhop of Carthage, Melchiades, the biſhop, or pope of Rome, (the two words were ſynonimous) having aſſembled a council at Rome, the decrees of this council were not obſerved; ſo that Conſtantine was obliged to appoint another council, to meet at Arles, at which council, pope Sylveſter did not aſſiſt, either in perſon, or by proxy; nor did he even obtain any intelligence of its decrees, but by common letter of advice, in which neither his aſſent, nor

But, although theſe contradictions ſomewhat expoſed the reputation of the Chriſtian ſchools, it muſt be allowed, that they rendered them, from another quarter, very eſſential ſervices; ſince the new doctrine amply regained, in a negative ſenſe, the advantages which it loſt, in a poſitive ſenſe. Saint Juſtin, Tatian,

nor his approbation were demanded. Euſebius, who enters into a long detail of the hiſtory of the Nicene council, doth not appear to pay any attention to the biſhop of Rome, and is ſatisfied with merely obſerving, that "Της βασιλευούσης πολεως ο μεν προεςὼς υστερει δια γῆρας; πρεσβὺτεροι δ' αυτȣ παροντες την αὐτȣ ταξιν επληρουι. The biſhop of the royal city abſented himſelf on account of his great age; ſome of the elders, however, were preſent, who ſupplied his place." (V. Euſeb. a Reading, fol. v. 1. p. 580.) "Sozomenes hath written nearly to the ſame effect; Ιȣλιος δε οχ δια γῆρας απελιμπανε το, but Julius, on account of his great age, was abſent." (Sozomeni hiſt. ſæc. 4. p. 34. c. 17. Reading, v. 2.) If it ſometimes happened that the metropolitan churches were referred to, that they might ſettle particular points of doctrine, this was an advantage, which Rome only enjoyed in common with the reſt. Amidſt a multitude of authorities, which clearly prove it, I ſhall cite one, from Tertullian (de præſcriptione). This author, informing us in what manner hereſies are to be diſtinguiſhed, from the orthodox doctrine, ſaith, that recourſe muſt be had to the traditions of the church: "if in Achaia, conſult Corinth; if in Macedonia, conſult Philippi, and Theſſalonica; if in Aſia, conſult Epheſus; and if in Italy, conſult Rome."

Tatian, Minutius Felix, Origen, and Lactantius had examined, with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, all the dogmas of Paganiſm; they had dared to pluck aſide the veil, which covered this falſe religion; and as it frequently happens, that ideas, ſecretly ſpreading themſelves through enlightened and judicious minds, wait but for the moment of liberty, or the daring efforts of ſome author, before they blaze out, at every point, and avenge the rights of injured reaſon; ſo each intelligent individual, who exiſted at that period, read with avidity theſe intereſting controverſies. It is even probable, that whilſt ſuch controverſies beſtowed obligations, by deſtroying prejudices at once ſo ridiculous, and deeply rooted, they, at the ſame time, ſtamped ſome degree of favour on the opinions, which were attempted to be eſtabliſhed in their place. In cheriſhing the Chriſtians, men cheriſhed the enemies of the prieſts; nor were they inſenſible of the kindneſs, which they had received from them, by the overthrow of ſo ancient an impoſture. How unfortunate a circumſtance muſt it have proved, if a ſevere policy had, then, deprived us of thoſe learned productions, to which,

which, amidſt many other valuable acquiſitions, we ſtand particularly indebted for the precious illuſtrations of antiquity, and the enlightened memorials of the long empire of ſuperſtition! happily, the proſcription againſt books, did not begin till towards the end of the third age; for, although the philoſophical emperors, ſuch as Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, too rigorouſly, called to an account, a ſect, whom they ought to have tolerated, yet they never levelled their perſecutions againſt the works, which the leaders of this ſect had compoſed. They judged it more becoming, to treat with reſpect, thoſe mute and peaceable depoſitaries of the ſentiments of mankind; and they regarded them, as ſacred aſylums, open to every ſyſtem, whether founded in error, or conceived in the ſpirit of truth. The Chriſtians exclaimed violently againſt the new tyranny, to which their books were expoſed: they reſiſted the ſearch of the inquiſitors, with the moſt unſhaken reſolution, compriſing within their anathemas all the *Traditores*, that is, thoſe who were ſo puſillanimous as to ſacrifice their books or bibles to the magiſtrates.

As

As to the reſt, Perſecution ſerved only to caſt an additional luſtre over the reputation of the Chriſtians. Under a deſpotic government, every act of ſeverity is, at once, deemed unjuſt. And who, indeed, could have beheld without concern, the fate of theſe unhappy wretches, daily dragged to the tribunal of ſome freed-man, ſome creature lifted into place, who, inveſted with the title either of Pretor, or of Proconſul, concluded that he had a right to give laws to opinion, and paſs his judgement on the conſcience of another? Thus, all, except thoſe fanatics who had been infected by the ſuggeſtions of the prieſts, pitied and encouraged the Chriſtians, whoſe writings, every where, recommended that toleration which Jeſus Chriſt had taught them, and which, from the peculiarity of their lot, it was their intereſt to preach of. They were particularly careful to flee from the preſence of tyrannical magiſtrates; and they travelled into the remoteſt provinces of the empire, in order to reveal their dogmas to plain and untutored minds. They deſcribed a God of peace, a God, who conſidered all mankind as his children; and who admitted not of any difference

ference between them, whether they were nobles, or plebeians, Romans, or Barbarians, free, or in ſlavery. Thus, was Chriſtianity extended throughout the provinces, but principally in Spain and Gaul, where it was ſo generally propagated, that although Conſtantius, Chlorus, and Conſtantine, his ſucceſſor, did not totally embrace it, yet they thought it good policy to countenance it, with their favour, and to avail themſelves of it, in oppoſition to the preponderating influence of Dioclefian and Galerius.

As we have, now, carried our reflections, down to that important æra, in which, Conſtantine, having united in a ſubmiſſion to his laws, the largeſt empire that ever exiſted, employed his whole power, to render Chriſtianity the ruling religion, we ſhall, for a moment, fix our attention on the reign of this prince. Here, then, we conclude our remarks on Chriſtianity, the progreſs of which ceaſes to be extraordinary, when directed by the operations of the moſt powerful, and the moſt abſolute of all the emperors.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

On Conſtantine.

THE fourth age of the church opened under the moſt unfortunate auſpices. An empire divided amongſt the chiefs of the Barbarians, deſolated by continual wars, and ravaged by a foreign army; a religion, at one moment, perſecuted by the prince, and at another moment, tearing in pieces her own entrails; now timid, now furious; then weak, then fanatic; either condemned to ſilence, or loſt in hereſies, conformably to the caprice of ſovereigns, and the revolutions of the ſtate; the deſtruction of all public morals; licentiouſneſs, or deſpotiſm uſurping the place of a regular form of government;

ment; and avarice, and depredation ſeated on the tribunals, compoſe the objects which fill up the picture, preſented to us, by the Roman empire, or rather, by the whole world. During this dreadful chaos, during this total overthrow of power and opinion, mankind waited in expectation of a maſter; one of thoſe ferocious warriors, who, whilſt he remained too formidable to dread an oppoſition from the people, might prove equally invincible againſt the attacks of rival nations, was all they aſked for. Although no longer deſirous of liberty, yet they were anxious to enjoy peace; the vigour of their minds was already bent; their intrepidity was exhauſted; and whatſoever might have been the will of a deſpot, an univerſal principle of adulation was prepared to adopt it. Diocleſian alike wearied with battles and with glory; at once loathing the occupations of a general, and the employments of a ſovereign; but particularly diſpleaſed with the Romans, whoſe baſeneſs, and ingratitude he had experienced, deſpiſed the luſtre, and apprehended the dangers, which ſurrounded the throne of the world, and this too, at a time when he was, of all others, the moſt

worthy of filling it. Unfortunately, he foreſaw not, until it was too late, the part which he was obliged to take; but like a commander, who diſmantles the conquered place before it be abandoned, he rendered the poſt, which he quitted, impoſſible to be maintained. The empire was divided into four *dioceſes*, or governments. An illuſory ballance of power had been eſtabliſhed, amongſt the chiefs, who under the titles of either Cæſar, or Auguſtus, preſided over the ſeveral departments. The colleagues, united only by illegal marriages, or forced adoptions, unavoidably, became mutual rivals; and he who, firſt, triumphed over his competitor, was ſure of inveſting himſelf, ſhortly afterwards, with the rank, and authority of an univerſal monarch. It was under theſe circumſtances, that Conſtantine, in the flower of his age, and adorned with all the gifts of nature, inherited a power, which Conſtantius, his father, had made a favourite and deſirable object. To reign, was, in fact, to wage war. His firſt exploits were directed againſt the Franks. A conqueror beyond the Rhine, a peaceable ſovereign amongſt the Gauls, he, quickly, fixed his views on Italy.

There

There, the ſway of Maxentius was grown deteſtable. At once, cruel, and ſuperſtitious, whilſt he conſulted the oracles, his hands were imbrued in human blood. This period was the empire of magic. Every place was filled with the accounts of evocations, of ſacrifices, and of predictions. Whether, as Euſebius ſaith, Conſtantine, intimidated by the inchantments of Maxentius, ſought after other arms, wherewith to oppoſe him; or whether his acquaintance with the diſpoſition of a people, irritated by perſecutions, and inclined towards chriſtianity, inſpired him with the idea of placing his ſupport, upon a new religion, it is certain that he was eager in teſtifying his averſion from thoſe falſe deities, and his attachment to the mode of worſhip, peculiar to the Chriſtians.

Nothing can be more obſcure, than the hiſtory of the *Labarum*, or croſs, which appeared to Conſtantine, whilſt he marched at the head of his army. What hath been written, either to confirm, or to confute this circumſtance, may be ſeen in a work publiſhed by *Mr. Le Beau.(y)* I preſume it to

(y) Hiſt. du bas Emp. tom. 1.

be exceedingly clear, that the period, and the place, at which this event happened, are equally uncertain. Not only Origen, but all the profane hiſtorians are ſilent, on the ſubject.(z) Even *Euſebius* doth not relate it, as a fact generally known, but as an incident mentioned to him by Conſtantine ;(a) neither was there any viſible trace of the prodigious effect, which ſuch a miracle ought to have produced, ſince the army of this prince, ſtill remained devoted to Paganiſm, and ſince he himſelf

(z) The author might have excepted the learned writers of the Univerſal Hiſtory, whoſe credulity, and complaiſance have implicitly adopted from Euſebius, an account which that father only believed in part. K.

(a) Quod ſi quidem ab alio quopiam diceretur, haud facile auditores fidem eſſent habituri. (*De vita Conſtantini, lib.* 1. *cap.* 38. It is certain, that if Euſebius imagined that he was relating a fact, as ſufficiently known, and as generally confeſſed as this ought to have been, he would not either have written with ſo much precaution, or have begun with agreeing, that if any other, except Conſtantine, had mentioned this circumſtance, his audience would not have given him much credit. Thus the whole authenticity of this narrative, is confined to the teſtimony of two perſons; the one, probably inſtigated either by enthuſiaſm, or policy; and the other engaged by ſituation, and intereſt, to receive the ſtory, as a truth.

himſelf did not declare that he was become a Chriſtian, until ſome time afterwards. It is not, therefore, without reaſon, that this hiſtory hath been often called in queſtion, and conſidered as a *pious fraud*,(*b*) which is the worſt of all falſities, becauſe by poiſoning even the very ſource of truth, it expoſes the moſt ſacred authorities, to all thoſe doubts which profane writers are ſo ready to caſt upon them. But, whatever may have happened, it is a poſitive truth, that Conſtantine granted to the Chriſtians, a protection ſo ſtrikingly marked, that the firſt uſe, which he made of his victory over Maxentius, was to engage Licinius to proclaim an act of toleration in their favour.

It is at this period, that we may fix the beginning of the epoch, which we ſhould ſtile the fine age of the church, if the diſputes, the cabals, the ſchiſms, and the cruel and extravagant errors, with which he was agitated, had not tarniſhed the luſtre of theſe proſperous days. Here, biſhops accuſed biſhops of having ſtolen the ſacred veſſels, whilſt a woman gave away the chief ſee in Africa.

(*b*) See Echard's Roman hiſtory.

There, Chriſtians, ſcarcely eſcaped from one perſecution, carried on a ſecond, ſtill more cruel than the firſt, againſt themſelves, by turns reproaching one another, either with deſertion, or with treaſon.(c) And here, a ſet of zealots, leſs ambitious indeed, but more fanatic, had ſubſtituted barbarity in the place of outrage: it is impoſſible to reflect without horror, on thoſe heretics, called *Circumcelliones*, a kind of Maniacs, who, miſtaking the words, *praiſe be to God*, for a ſignal to rally together, and not daring to tranſgreſs the precept of the goſpel, which forbade them to draw the ſword, knocked down with clubs, all thoſe who refuſed to embrace their tenets; and were ſometimes ſo tranſported with madneſs, as to precipitate themſelves into the ſea; as if there had been contagions, peculiar to the mind, as well as the body; and as if cruelty towards others, and towards themſelves, had been as much a diſeaſe attending on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious man, as the leproſy is a diſorder, which naturally viſits the poor and the uncleanly man. No church enjoyed tranquility, no aſylum

(c) See Hiſt. eccl. de Fleury tom. 2.

aſylum remained, in which peace, and charity could have reſided; for, although the controverſies which diſturbed Aſia, were not attended with ſuch cruel effects, as thoſe controverſies by which the Eaſt, Europe, and Africa were torn, yet they were much more vain and frivolous. I am pleaſed with that ingenuous manner, in which Euſebius writes, when he relates thoſe quarrels, which aroſe, at the time, when the paſſover was to be celebrated. "Every one (ſaith he) differed in opinion, from another; no two perſons could agree about the ceremonies of religion, nor was an individual found, who knew what remedy to apply; for amidſt ſuch a multitude of different counſels, there was not the leaſt reaſon advanced, why the ſcale ſhould be inclined more to the one, than to the other ſide."*(d)*

(d) "Itaque cum omnes ubique populi jam dudum inter ſe diſſiderent, et ſacri religionis noſtræ ritus conturbarentur, mortalium quidem nemo erat qui huic malo remedium poſſet adhibere, cum utrinque inter ſe diſſentientes velut æquatâ lancê controverſia penderet."

I cannot reſiſt the opportunity of introducing, on this occaſion, a paſſage from Arnobius, which ſeems to be exceedingly

And yet, theſe internal diſorders did not prevent Chriſtianity from acquiring freſh vigour. In ſpite of a reciprocal hatred, in ſpite of a diverſity of opinions, the favour of the ſovereign, and the extinction of Paganiſm, was, as it were, the rallying point, to which every ſect equally tended. The eccleſiaſtical authority hath never been refuſed to thoſe princes, who countenanced the eccleſiaſtics. Conſtantine, ſcarcely a Catechumen, and as yet half a Barbarian, ſtained in his reputation, by ſeveral parricides, and ſurrounded with concubines, and an illegitimate offspring, was ſoon conſidered as an oracle, in all matters

exceedingly judicious. *"Where (ſaith he, b. 2.) is the opinion, ſo rational, and ſo plauſible, that the ſpirit of controverſy cannot ſhake it? can any poſition be ſo abſurd, as to render ſpecious arguments, incapable of ſupporting it? when a perſon is once convinced, either of the truth, or of the falſity of any thing, he,

* *Quid eſt enim quod humana ingenia labefactare ſtudio contradictionis non audeant? quamvis illud quod infirmare moliuntur, ſit purum, et liquidum, et veritatis obſignatione munitum? aut quid rurſus aſſerere verisimilibus argumentis non queunt, quamvis ſit apertiſſimè falſum, quamvis evidens, manifeſtumque mendacium? cum enim ſibi perſuaſerit quis eſſe aliquid, aut non eſſe, amat quod opinatur aſſerere, et acumine alios anteire, maximè ſi agatur res ſummota, et abdita, et caligine involuta naturæ. Arnob. l. 2.*

ters relating to doctrine. His mediation was invoked, during each controverſy, and his preſence was deſired at every council. Nay, to ſuch a length were theſe things carried, that he was requeſted to deliver out ſermons and paſtoral inſtructions. The reward of ſo much adulation was the preſcription pronounced ſoon afterwards againſt the Gods, their temples, and their miniſters. Chriſtianity oppreſſed, preached in favour of toleration; but Chriſtianity, when rendered the ruling religion, became intolerant in her turn; and the biſhops, at once forgetting the precepts

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he, immediately, from a paſſion for diſputation, becomes attached to his own idea, and ſoon ſeeks, ſolely, to acquire a ſuperiority over his adverſary, by dint of the powers of the imagination, and by ſubtlety; eſpecially when ſome obſcure queſtion, involved by its nature, in darkneſs, is the point in debate." Such remarks frequently fall from the pen of this excellent author. It were to be wiſhed that thoſe, who, like him, have written in favour of religion, had been guided by the ſame ſpirit of diſcernment and toleration. Bold, and earneſt, whilſt he refutes paganiſm, and the ancient philoſophy; modeſt, and cautious, whenſoever new doctrines are to be eſtabliſhed, reducing all to the belief of ONE ONLY GOD, and to the practice of the natural law, he hath proved himſelf as much a friend to inquiſitive doubt, as an enemy to ſuperſtition.

cepts of the goſpel, and their own true intereſts, in order to ſubdue their enemies, furniſhed the civil power with thoſe arms, againſt the uſe of which, they had ſo long inveighed. They went ſtill farther; and even theſe men, who believed alſo in Jeſus Chriſt, who followed the ſame diſcipline, and obſerved the ſame ceremonies, but who differed concerning ſome abſtruſe, and ſpeculative opinion, could not make a proper uſe of that toleration, which had been granted to the heathens, but ſome years before. The ſame emperor, who in his firſt edict, in favour of the Chriſtians, had ſaid, in expreſs terms: "it is our will, that ſuch as follow the errors of the Gentiles, ſhould enjoy the ſame tranquility, and the ſame repoſe which the faithful enjoy; and we eſteem this reciprocal toleration, to be the beſt mean of propagating the truth. Let no one, therefore, preſume to moleſt his fellow creature; let every perſon live as he pleaſeth; and let thoſe, who chuſe to adhere to a falſe religion, not only enjoy their forms of worſhip, but their temples." The ſame Conſtantine, when ſome time had elapſed, iſſued an edict againſt the heretics, in which he forbids them to have any oratories, and even

acquaints

acquaints them, that they muſt not dare to aſſemble on any pretext whatſoever.(e) He ſent ſoldiers into all the provinces of the empire, to pull down the temples, to break their idols in pieces, to impriſon their prieſts, and to diſperſe their worſhippers; and whilſt he thus eſtabliſhed his tenets, by fire and the ſword, he was himſelf inceſſantly changing; perpetually paſſing over from one party, to the other party; and preaching, and inculcating contradictory doctrines, until, at length, forgetting, through the exceſs of zeal, to be baptized, he died an heretic.

To draw aſide the maſk, beneath which feeble humanity hath frequently remained hidden, is conſtantly a painful employment; but howſoever odious it may be in ſociety, in all hiſtorical reſearches, it is at once noble and uſeful. In fact, if the ordinary courſe of juſtice requires that a ſlow and impartial examination ſhould riſe up, after a long ſeries of years, to redreſs her errors, how much more is hiſtory, placed at firſt between the ſycophant, and the carping ſophiſter, and then delivered over to the blind compiler, entitled

(e) See Euſeb. de vita Conſt. l. 2. c. 46. and l. 3. c. 66.

entitled to enter her proteſt, againſt the ſentence of the paſt ages? Conſtantine, by throwing down the idols, had often applauded himſelf, for having convinced the people, that theſe ſplendid images, far from proving aſylums to the divinities, contained only deſpicable aſhes, or the tainted bones of dead bodies; but little did he perceive that thus he inſulted over his own deſtiny. The taſk of daring to penetrate into his ſoul, was reſerved for this enlightened age. The idol being overthrown, and its rich covering deſtroyed, what then remains? ſelf-intereſt, paſſions, hypocriſy, and the whole ſkeleton of humanity. Conſtantine is, of all princes, he who hath the moſt influenced the ages which ſucceeded that age wherein he exiſted. The objects to which he conſecrated his reign were the deſtruction of the worſhip of falſe deities, in order to ſubſtitute in its place, the worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt; and the tranſportation of the capital of the world, from the ancient theatre of her glory, to a barbarous and uncultivated ſhore. The laſt ſtep hath not met with any apologiſts; but the firſt ſtep, by endearing his memory to the Chriſtian world, hath probably caſt upon the author, too much

of

of the merit of the work. As for us, equally removed from the bitterneſs of Zoſimus, and the enthuſiaſm of Euſebius, we ſhall not borrow opinions from theſe authors, but only facts. We ſhall even reſt ſatisfied, with having placed the reader, in a ſituation, to judge for himſelf; and to follow a ſurer road, in our obſervations, we ſhall examine Conſtantine, under three different points of view; as a man, as a prince, and as a Chriſtian.

Were it neceſſary for the religion of Chriſt, to borrow ſome luſtre from her followers, we ſhould not have confeſſed, but with uneaſineſs, how much we are conſtrained to acknowledge an extreme difference, between the great and ſublime minds of *Trajan*, and the *Antonini*, and the yet barbarous character of *Conſtantine*: but the faith inculcated by the miniſters of the goſpel, hath nothing in common with the perſonal vices of this prince; vices at once ſo ſtriking, and ſo odious, that we can neither juſtify, nor diſſemble them. Perhaps, indeed, he ought, in ſome meaſure, to be pitied, for having been hurried away by the manners of his times, whilſt he treated with ſo much cruelty, the people of Germany, whom he had conquered: but what pardon can be granted

granted to thoſe writers, who, notwithſtanding that they were commendable in every other reſpect, inſtead of lamenting over theſe horrid perpetrations, have ſtriven to palliate, and, as it were, to filch away the atrocity that ſtained them? I cannot, in this place, avoid quoting a paſſage from Mr. Crevier; it may ſerve as an inſtance of the manner, after which, hiſtory is written in our times. "Conſtantine (ſaith he) paſſed the Rhine, and entered into the country of the *Bructeri*, whom he gave up *to the fire, and the ſword.* Nothing was ſpared. The villages were burnt; the cattle were taken, or ſlaughtered; *the men and women were maſſacred*; and they, who eſcaped death, and whom he made priſoners, underwent a fate ſtill more cruel. As he judged them incapable of ever performing the leaſt uſeful ſervice to the cauſe, on account of their ungovernable fierceneſs, and their perfidy, they were thrown to the wild beaſts, whoſe ferocity they imitated."*(f)*

What an artifice! what an effort to ſoften ſuch abominable crimes! and all this, becauſe Con-

(f) Euſebius relates this fact with the ſame indulgence. See de vitâ Conſt. l. 1. c. 25.

Conſtantine was the firſt Chriſtian emperor. A partiality ſo peculiar to hiſtorians, ſometimes becomes amuſing, when it is not exerted on ſubjects which ſeem to riſe againſt it. Amidſt ſo much guilt, a ſimple homicide, though indeed exceedingly uſeleſs, and unmerited, may be conſidered as a trifle; but I cannot help taking under my protection, an unfortunate eunuch, for whom *Mr. Le Beau*, and *Mr. Crevier* have ſhewn no compaſſion. *Conſtantine* had ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect his father-in-law *Maximian*; but he had determined to delay executing his revenge on him, until he ſhould have taken him in an attempt to commit the fact. Having, therefore, been one day informed by his wife *Fauſta*, that *Maximian* was to fulfil his intentions, on the following night, and ſtab him in his bed, he placed in it an eunuch, without doubt, a contemptible creature, yet, at the ſame time, very innocent; and one who had nothing to do there. *Maximian* is deceived, and whilſt he only kills the eunuch, ſuppoſes that he ſlays a ſon-in-law. *Conſtantine* then ſteps forward, overwhelmed with joy at the diſcovery, and orders his father-in-law to be immediately put to death, to the great ſatisfaction of his wife,

wife, and all the aſſiſtants. Is it poſſible, that no hiſtorian ſhould have been induced to remark, that it would have been better not to have taken away the life of a blameleſs individual; and to have ſaved his father from the commiſſion of an additional crime, and himſelf from the guilt of parricide? but I am in the wrong to expect that a poor eunuch, ſhould be mentioned with any pity, whilſt the ſame hiſtorians have expreſſed none for *Cæſar Valens*, and *Cæſar Martinianus*, whoſe only crime was, the having been raiſed to the firſt rank by *Licinius*; and whilſt, alſo, they have ſhewn as little commiſeration, even for *Licinius*, who, during a long time, coequal with *Conſtantine*, and, at length, fallen within his power, though under the ſanction of a treaty, was ſhortly afterwards condemned to death, upon the moſt frivolous pretexts. The execution of an *Auguſtus*, and of the two *Cæſars*; the violation of the public faith; and treaties, either forgotten, or broken, are all as nothing, for an emperor, who protected biſhops, and compoſed homilies.

What crimes could have been added to theſe, unleſs they amounted to the having put to death a wife, and a ſon? and under what

what circumſtances were ſuch cruelties committed? *Conſtantine* returned in triumph from the *Nicean* council; he was congratulating himſelf on having given a dinner to more than three hundred biſhops, and kiſſed the wounds of martyrs; when, on a ſudden, hurried away by mere ſuſpicions, and from the ſingle imputation of a crime, the hardeſt to be believed, he put to death his ſon Criſpus,(g) a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes. Shortly afterwards, turning his fury from the accuſed, to the accuſer, he ordered that the empreſs Fauſta ſhould be ſuffocated. The ties of friendſhip were, in his eſtimation, no ſurer ſafeguards than the ties of blood. This ferocious, and irregular prince, all occupied as he was in accelerating the progreſs of Chriſtianity, had invited to his court, *Zopater*, a Platonic philoſopher, of the ſchool of *Jamblicus*. He ſoon permitted him to enjoy ſo great a ſhare of his confidence, and intimacy, that the unfortunate ſage, deluded

(g) It is remarkable, that *Euſebius*, fearful of throwing too dark a ſhade over his beautiful picture of Conſtantine, hath not taken the leaſt notice of the death, or rather murder of *Criſpus*, who was compelled to ſwallow poiſon. K.

away from his own country, could not escape the jealousy of the Christians. Accusations of sorcery and magic had been whispered abroad, and a popular commotion had already risen, when the fleet, which was to import the corn from Ægypt, became detained by contrary winds. The people, constantly furious, and driven almost to madness, whensoever factious and interested men alarm their minds with apprehensions of a famine,*(b)* did not fail to direct their fury against *Zopater*; whilst Constantine, at once a weak prince, and a perfidious friend, delivered up to execution this innocent philosopher. To a character so cruel, and inconstant, may be added an unbridled passion for ostentatious pomp, and an immoderate thirst after every kind of glory: from such marks, it is but too easy to discover, in the person of *Constantine*, an odious and contemptible individual, whose vices, the lustre of the purple, the laurels of victory, and the adulation of ages, have long striven to conceal. Let us now examine whether the prince hath a better title to our esteem.

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(b) Tacitus, somewhere saith, "Plebs cui una ex republica annonæ cura."

In this caſe, facts ſeem to ſpeak for themſelves. *Conſtantine*, born in the very midſt of dangers; expoſed from his infancy, in the character of an hoſtage, to all the hatred of his enemies; and at length, eſcaping from their hands, at the hazard of his life, no ſooner perceives himſelf placed at the head of an army, than, being the abſolute maſter of an extenſive part of the empire, he attempts to conquer the other part, and to ſeat himſelf on the throne of the world. What ſucceſs could have been more brilliant? what a ſubject for panegyric! but the philoſopher, who is never dazzled by the mere ſplendor of actions, ſoon withdraws his admiration, when directing his reſearches up to the origin of victories, he beholds only a ſeries of battles gained. He is convinced, that from the moment, at which men began to repoſe their whole truſt and intereſt in their armies, it muſt neceſſarily have happened, that the event of battles, decided either in favour of the one, or of the other; that the advantages acquired by war, may be of high relative value, but of very little poſitive value; and that ſignal ſucceſſes do not always form great generals. A player at cheſs may take another

leſs ſtrong than himſelf, and yet be very weak. In India, for inſtance, we know that entire empires have been overthrown, by armies, who might have been forced to flee, before ſix battalions of *Europæan* troops. It is not becauſe he defeated the duke de *Bournonville*; but becauſe he harraſſed *Condé*, and *Montecuculli*, that *Turenne* is eſteemed a great general.*(i)* So alſo, in politics, the citizen, who by dint of firmneſs and intrepidity, attains to the power of adding ſome advantage to public liberty, is more reſpectable than the prince, who, at the head of fifty ſatellites, makes a people of ſlaves exchange one maſter for another maſter.

For

(i) The Chevalier Folard mentions this campaign, fatal to Turenne, with that enthuſiaſm, to which the merits of the French general, and his almoſt-equally illuſtrious competitor had ſo ſtrong a claim. " Celle ci fût le chef d'oeuvre du Vicomte de Turenne, et du Comte de Montecuculli; il n'y en a point de ſi belle dans l'antiquité; il n'y a que les experts dans le métier qui puiſſent en bien juger." Montecuculli, who, after the death of Turenne, quitted the profeſſion of a ſoldier, gave this remarkable reaſon for his retirement. " The man who has had the honour to engage with Turenne, muſt not venture his reputation againſt thoſe who are but beginning to command armies." K.

For *Conſtantine* to have vanquiſhed *Licinius*, and to have triumphed over ſome barbarous nations, is, without doubt, no inconſiderable circumſtance; and yet the little glory which he receives from it, can only laſt, whilſt we continue ignorant of the choice of his means, and the ſagacity of his views. But this emperor, by placing his conduct in a more intereſting light, hath given us a ſtandard, whereby we may judge of him. He acted as a legiſlator; nor will the reader find it difficult to determine, whether our ſeverity be miſplaced, ſhould he recollect that it is this prince, to whom we owe that vicious mixture of the *civil power*, and the *eccleſiaſtical power*, which hath ſcattered ſo much diſorder, during fifteen centuries, throughout the Chriſtian world.

The firſt traces of the intervention of the eccleſiaſtical power, in civil matters, may be found in a law, enacted by Conſtantine, and relative to the enfranchiſement of ſlaves. In the room of thoſe formalities, with which theſe enfranchiſements were accompanied, he directed that the atteſtation of a biſhop ſhould, from that time forward, be deemed ſufficient; as if the proceedings and deci-

ſions were to be determined upon, like caſes of conſcience, or acts of penance.(*k*) Every one recollects into how large a field this firſt encroachment began to ſpread. All the different ways and means were immediately ſettled; innumerable privileges were granted to the clergy; ſuch as, a permiſſion to receive legacies; an exemption from all burdenſome offices, namely, the collection of the taxes, municipal poſts, magiſtracies, guardianſhips, &c. ſo exceſſive were theſe favours, that, intereſt ſoon checking enthuſiaſm, it became neceſſary to revoke them.

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(*k*) One might reaſonably ſuſpect *Conſtantine* to have been actuated by ſome ſecret motives, when he made this regulation. A multitude of ſlaves, attracted by that ſpirit of equality, which reigned amongſt the Chriſtians, preſented themſelves daily, and by embracing their religion, broke looſe from the power of their reſpective maſters. Theſe deſerters were, notwithſtanding, to be given up, whenſoever they were demanded; but however ſlight the pretext for their enfranchiſement might have been, the favour granted to the new converts gave birth to deciſions, ſubverſive of the authority of the maſters. Now, it is probable, that, to extend this favour, ſtill farther, endeavours were uſed to deprive the civil power of the privilege of carrying on any proceſs of this kind, and to render the atteſtation of the biſhop, which might always be depended upon, ſufficient of itſelf, without any other forms.

In fact, almoſt every one of the citizens, to ſecure his effects, turned eccleſiaſtic; and God was ſo well ſerved, that the ſtate no longer enjoyed either ſubjects,*(l)* or magiſtrates. Amongſt all princes, the intereſts of their treaſury or exchequer, have, as it were, fixed bounds to their faith: but, however unwilling *Conſtantine* might have been to give way to the clergy, in a point of ſuch importance, he was not afraid of ſacrificing to them the moſt ancient principles of the Roman government, by revoking the *lex Papia Poppæa.* By this law, the unmarried citizens were cut off from all collateral ſucceſſions; and the married citizens, who had no children, could only claim the half of

(l) Under *Conſtantine*, the number of the citizens was much diminiſhed, whilſt the number of ſlaves, and of foreigners, was conſiderably increaſed. It is not, therefore, extraordinary that the weight of taxes, and and all public charges bore hard upon each individual. The municipal employments were, in particular, ſuch heavy burdens, that, in the end, there remained neither landed property, nor perſonal property. All thoſe who, by their ſituation, were obliged to fill ſome public office, were called *Curiales.* Now, the rank of *Curialis*, and any eccleſiaſtical rank, were, by the principles of the church, deemed incompatible. See Bingham's antiquities of the church. b. 5. c. 3.

ſuch of theſe ſucceſſions, as might have fallen to them; neither were they entitled to more than the tenth part, of the effects of their wives, in caſe of their deceaſe. *Conſtantine*, not contented with having extinguiſhed theſe reſpectable remains of Roman policy, encouraged celibacy, by every poſſible mean; and, in particular, granted to ſuch, as embraced this ſtate, the privilege of diſpoſing of their poſſeſſions, previous to the age required by the laws.

But, whilſt theſe exemptions were multiplied, in favour of the clergy, a new kind of exorbitant taxes, ſpread the greateſt conſternation amongſt the people. Every fourth year, the officers belonging to the emperor, came, armed with whips and ſticks, to collect a capitation, called *chryſargyrum*, becauſe it was paid, either in gold, or in ſilver. This tax was levied with the moſt unparalelled rigour. Even beggars and proſtitutes were forced to contribute their ſhare; but the poor, hunted from place to place, and laſhed about, like common beaſts of burden, were not the only individuals, who groaned under theſe extortions; the rich apprehended them, with an equal degree of terror; ſince accu-

fations

ſations of every kind, domeſtic treachery, and public calumny, formed, as it were, the tarif, in which they were accuſtomed to perceive them entered.

Zoſimus, alſo, accuſes *Conſtantine*, of having waged war, againſt the Pagan deities, only that he might be furniſhed with a pretence, for pillaging their temples; but it would be unjuſt to rely upon an author, who appears, by ſeveral paſſages in his writings, to have been greatly prejudiced; and particularly, when he imputes the converſion of *Conſtantine*, to the remorſe with which the murder of his wife, and ſon, afflicted him. According to this hiſtorian, the emperor, having ſought, to no purpoſe, amongſt the heathen prieſts, for proper expiations, became a convert to the religion of the Chriſtians, who were reported to have practiſed a ceremony, of waſhing away all ſins, in a myſterious water. But, however groſs the anachroniſm may be, of referring the converſion of *Conſtantine*, to an event, which happened ſo long afterwards, it is, notwithſtanding, very evident, that the crimes with which he had lately blackened his conduct, added to his inflexible perſecution, againſt opinions generally

rally received, and a mode of worſhip, of ſuch an ancient eſtabliſhment, had rendered him ſo odious to his people, that he was obliged to quit Rome, and find out another aſylum, where only the voice of flattery could be heard: upon which, I ſhall beg leave to remark, that the ideas, relative to an exterior form of adoration, muſt have had a terrible influence over morality; ſince on one ſide, the Chriſtians have commended, even to the ſkies, an emperor, who was guilty of the moſt atrocious crimes; whilſt, on the other ſide, the *Romans*, who applauded *Nero*, when he made his entry into their capital, after having put his mother to death, could not bear the ſight of *Conſtantine*, by whoſe order, his own wife and ſon were executed. It is thus, that an attachment to empty rites and ceremonies, perpetually prevails over that law, which nature hath engraven on every human heart, but unfortunately, in characters too ſuperficial, and too eaſy to be obliterated.

We will not expatiate upon that abſurd error, which *Conſtantine* committed, when he changed the metropolis of the empire. It is a circumſtance too well known, and too fully ac-

acknowledged, by all authors, not excepting thoſe authors, who have the moſt commended this prince. We have already mentioned the reaſons, which induced him to take ſo falſe a ſtep; but we cannot avoid adding, that no project could poſſibly have been conceived, more in the ſpirit of pride, or executed more in the ſpirit of injuſtice. Whilſt this oſtentatious emperor is ſo impatient to enjoy his palaces, that he doth not allow his architects, even time to conſtruct them, in a manner ſufficiently ſubſtantial; and whilſt he perceives his already mouldering walls, threatening to fall on thoſe walls, which are yet riſing; he compels, by ſevere edicts, all the inhabitants of *Aſia-Minor* to erect expenſive edifices in the new capital. A tyrannical law enacts, that all perſons, not having an houſe at *Conſtantinople*, ſhould be prohibited from tranſmitting any landed eſtate to their heirs: by ſuch means doth he accelerate the building of this celebrated city, the horoſcope of which is caſt, by his orders; and the reſult of this, is, a prophecy that it will laſt, during the ſpace of ſix hundred and ninety-ſix years.

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The reader will, probably, be ſomewhat ſurprized to find, that ſo excellent a divine, as *Conſtantine*, ſhould have been induced to conſult the aſtrologers; but the character of this prince appears, in no particular, ſo inconſiſtent, as in that particular, which hath any the leaſt relation to religion. Equally weak and vain, and as ready to preſerve, as to change his reſolution, the imperfections of his mind have accounted for the imperfections of his heart. Whether this prince was an enthuſiaſt, or an hypocrite, is a queſtion, which hath been often agitated. One party, ſtricken with that frequently particular attention, which made him deſcend into all the *minutiæ* of eccleſiaſtical matters; with that hatred which he had conceived againſt Paganiſm; and, above all, with the devotion, which he diſcovered, in the laſt moments of his life, have imagined that he was more convinced, than enlightened; and that if the grace of God did not eſteem it fitting, to ſupport him againſt hereſy, and parricide, at leaſt, it revealed to him, the principal tenets of the faith. The other party, more attentive to his public conduct, to the pretended miracles, with which he accompanied

companied his expeditions; and, eſpecially, to the advantages, which he drew from them, ſeem inclined to believe, that he never had a very lively faith, and that his religion was, conſtantly, kept dependant on his ambition. As for me, I know not, if it ariſe from my bearing a ſtronger antipathy againſt hypocriſy, than againſt any other vice; but I am always averſe from ſuppoſing, that it can be carried on to a certain degree: to act the part of an hypocrite, ſeems to me, a taſk, at once, ſo painful, and ſo difficult, that nothing but the moſt violent effort of patience and artifice, can ſupport a long and ſucceſsful performance of it. Let us always be fearful of giving too much to the mind, by taking too much away from the heart. If we enjoy ſome talents, wherewith we deceive others, how many more talents do we not poſſeſs, which ſeduce us to impoſe upon ourſelves? the willingneſs with which we are ſo apt to credit the ſuppoſed exertions of hypocriſy, may, perhaps, ariſe from the not having ſufficiently reflected on the nature of the human heart. All who have obſerved the empire, which our intereſt maintains over our opinions, muſt have met with ample reaſon to

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be convinced, that its own ſucceſſes ſoon prove the means of its deſtruction. We lead off, by diſhoneſtly affecting certain practices and ſentiments; and when this impoſture hath brought us within the reach of playing ſome great part; of commanding mankind, and of receiving from them riches and conſequence, we begin to repoſe in it more truſt; and it, at length, happens that, by little and little, our intereſt attains to the power of conſolidating, in our mind, the baſis of our authority. It is an old remark, that gameſters begin by being dupes, and end by being knaves: in matters of opinion, the caſe is reverſed; and we begin by being knaves, and end by being dupes. How often doth the magiſtrate, in paſſing from one court into another court, change his principles, with his tribunal! at firſt, his probity, or rather the opinion which he hath conceived of himſelf, becomes reſtleſs and uneaſy; it, then, calls to its aſſiſtance, ſophiſtry and ſubtlety; but, quickly duped by its own artifice, it no longer finds any thing to contend with, and the man is rendered a convert to vertue, through his own folly. It is thus, that amongſt the clergy, it hath ſometimes happened,

happened, that a ſet of eccleſiaſtics, entirely abandoned to wordly views, and raiſed to dignities, either through favour or intrigue; then, becoming the chiefs of a party, and frequently conſtrained to ſacrifice their pleaſures to their ambition, have ended by adopting, as an article of their own belief, ſome portion of that which they would willingly have perſuaded others to believe. We mention this to the honour of chriſtianity! the moral ſyſtem of which could never have united itſelf to thoſe atrocious crimes, which *Conſtantine* committed; and had God Himſelf enlightened him; had He choſen to have made uſe of him, any otherwiſe than He made uſe of a Tiberius, or a Nero, who, doubtleſs, were ſubſervient to the accompliſhment of his purpoſes, He would not have expoſed him to the diſgrace of having inceſſantly diſhonoured the faith, by his actions, and betrayed it, by his errors.

Conſtantine, according to all appearances, was induced to favour Chriſtianity, by thoſe reaſons, which we have explained, in a former part of this chapter. But ſoon encouraged by ſucceſs; elated with pride, by the flattery, which he received from the biſhops; and,

and, above all, prompted by jealouſy, to change the ſeat of the empire, he felt, at length, a real zeal, in favour of thoſe tenets, which, at the opening, he had eſpouſed, from principles of intereſt. It is eaſy to trace this conduct, in his mode of proceeding towards a general reformation. At firſt, he thought it enough to tolerate Chriſtianity; but he, ſoon afterwards, made Chriſtianity the reigning and excluſive religion. Although humble and ſubmiſſive to the biſhops, at the beginning, yet he did not wait long, before he gave them leſſons, in their turn. We may perceive how his zeal daily increaſed, with his influence over eccleſiaſtical affairs. No method, no rule actuated his judgments; at one moment, a moderator, and at another moment, a perſecutor; now, he impoſes ſilence on *Alexander*, and on *Arius*; then he condemns *Arius*; then abſolves him; then, condemns him again; and after all this, concludes with adopting his principles. I beg leave to inſert the introduction of a letter, which he wrote, at the ſame time to *Alexander*, biſhop of *Alexandria*, and to *Arius*, who was then diſputing againſt

againſt him.(m) "Since you, *Alexander*, have required from your clergy their ſentiments concerning ſome particular paſſages of ſcripture, or rather concerning ſome empty and frivolous opinions; and ſince you, *Arius*, have agitated queſtions, on which you ought never to have meditated, or meditating, to have remained ſilent, diſcord hath been ſtirred up amongſt you, &c. &c. ..... Abandon, therefore, theſe ſubtleties in a matter which doth not admit either of a queſtion or of an anſwer." Now, theſe ſubtleties, theſe empty and frivolous queries, related to nothing leſs, than the conſubſtantiality of the word, on which occaſion an aſſembly was called, ſoon after the council of *Nice*.

Conſtantine was not more fortunate, in his treatiſes on the Chriſtian religion. Let ſuch, as have any curioſity, to perceive the height of extravagance and abſurdity, united to-

(m) Cum enim tu, Alexander, a preſbiteris tuis requireres quid unuſquiſque eorum de quodam legis loco ſentiret, ſeu potius de quâdam inani queſtione eos interrogares; cumque tu, Ari, id quod nunquam cogitatum, vel ſanè cogitatum ſilentio premere deberes, imprudenter excitata inter vos diſcordia, &c..... Quidnam verò illud eſt? nec interrogare de hujuſmodi rebus, nec interrogatum reſpondere, &c.

gether, peruſe the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of his diſcourſe, addreſſed to the aſſembly of the ſaints, *(Oratio ad Sanctorum coetum.)* After having quoted as authentic, an acroſtic, by the pretended Erythræan Sibyl, the initial letters of which, form the words, *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Servator*, as if God revealed the ſecrets of futurity, in quirks of wit, which barely deſerve a place amidſt the common doggerel of a news-paper, he ſeizes on *Virgil*, as an immenſe treaſure of the cleareſt prophecies, in ſupport of the Chriſtian religion. Amongſt other eclogues, he cites,

Sicelides Muſæ, paulò majora canamus.

Even *paulò majora*, (ſaith he) alludes to many particulars. But Virgil, then adds,

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.

Who doth not know that the *Cumæan Sibyl* ceaſed to propheſy, when the *Truth* himſelf came into the world? but what anſwer can be given to theſe verſes?

Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo,
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

Who

Who is this returning virgin, unleſs it be the Mother of God? doth not the poet himſelf ſay?

Tu modo naſcenti puero, quo ferrea primùm
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget gens aurea mundo,
Caſta fave Lucina, &c.

Was not this, word for word, the Meſſiah? *Doctè igitur hæc dicta ſunt, O Maro poetarum ſapientiſſime!* . . . . . &c. &c.

Conſtantine firmly believed that *Virgil* was a chriſtian; but he imagined, that this celebrated poet was obliged to diſguiſe his faith, and conceal his alluſions behind the veil of allegory. *Euſebius*, who introduces the whole of this diſcourſe, and without making any obſervations on it, ſeems to be of the ſame opinion. What then muſt have been the logic of the firſt ſages of the church, which made them conſider *Moſes* and the *Sibyls*, *Iſaac* and *Virgil*, in the ſame point of view? but as theſe reflexions are foreign to my ſubject, I ſhall immediately conclude with obſerving, that *Conſtantine*, having lived in the perpetration of guilt, and died an heretic, is unworthy of our encomiums, either as a *Man*, a *Prince*, or a *Chriſtian*.

CHAP. V.

On the influence of Chriſtianity over the happineſs of the people. The ſituation of mankind, from the reign of Conſtantine, to the deſtruction of the Weſtern empire.

HAVING mentioned the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion; and having drawn, with all the accuracy in our power, the picture of the ſovereign, who imparted to it ſo ſupreme an authority, throughout his extenſive dominions; it ſeems natural to examine, in what manner the felicity of the people was influenced by theſe important alterations. And here, truth would not have preſumed to raiſe her rigid voice, if the Apoſtles of Chriſtianity had ever pretended, that the temporary happineſs

happineſs of human life was the object to which the views of their religion were directed. Idly would men alledge againſt this religion, the deſtruction of thoſe nations, who embraced it, and the downfal of the Roman empire, at a period ſo little diſtant from its converſion. The church, in her infancy, never extended her conſiderations towards the glory and proſperity of ſtates. Humility poverty, penitence, and prayer, were all which the miniſters of the goſpel thought themſelves commiſſioned to inculcate; and far from endeavouring, like the Pagans, to aſſimilate the mode of worſhip, with the ſyſtem of polity, and to make each jointly conſpire, in promoting the happineſs of nations, they gloried in a contempt of all vain grandeur, perſuaded as they were, that the theatre of the world muſt fall, before the ſcenes performing on it could find ſufficient time to draw to a concluſion.

We have already ſpoken of the error peculiar to the Milienarians; and ſo common during the firſt ages of the church. Whilſt hereſies, ſpringing up with the primitive dogmas of the faith, tore the boſom of Chriſtianity; whilſt the moſt orthodox emperors,

governed by their eunuchs, pusillanimously deserted the defence of their frontiers; and whilst the Barbarians, rushing in from the extremities of the universe, were sprinkling with human blood, the provinces of the empire, the principal cities of which were frequently either set on fire by the volcanos, or demolished by earthquakes, the opinion generally propagated, that the world was going to be destroyed, was received with a still greater degree of credit; and if the Pagans continued obstinately bent on rejecting this opinion, it was because they had ascribed so many disasters to the defection from an ancient and reverenced system of worship. At this dreadful crisis, during these common lamentations, the defenders of Christianity formed two divisions. The first division consisted of those, who, above concealing the miseries, with which they were laden; and even striving to exaggerate the consequences, drew from these events, fresh motives to enforce a more extensive conversion. The second division, unwilling to make the least allowance in favour of Paganism, pretended that the then impending evils were not more calamitous, than the evils which afflicted the people,

people, during the ages of idolatry. To the invaſions of the Barbarians, they oppoſed the civil wars and the proſcriptions; to the frequent deſtructions, whether of *Antioch*, or *Edeſſa*, or *Conſtantinople*, &c. &c. they compared the remarkable eruption of *Veſuvius*, during the reign of *Titus*. *Saint Auguſtin*, drawing all his arguments from his religion, wrote his elegant treatiſe, *de civitate Dei*, in which he proves, that the kingdom of God was not to be made manifeſt in this world. *Paulus Oroſius* alſo compoſed his cold and tireſome chronicle, in which, however inaccurate his relation of the principal hiſtorical facts may prove, he hath but too well ſucceeded, in convincing us, that, of all creatures, human beings have conſtantly been the moſt unfortunate.

Every one, the leaſt acquainted with hiſtory, muſt recollect, that no ages were more fertile in diſaſters, than the ages which filled up the intervals, between the firſt invaſion of the Barbarians, and their abſolute eſtabliſhment in the country which they had conquered. But it is eaſy to perceive, that in order to follow the plan, which we have adopted, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould remove to a

diſtance from our obſervations, all phyſical events, ſuch as earthquakes, famine, contagions, &c. and the greater part of political incidents, ſuch as the unfortunate ſucceſſes of war, the miſconduct of generals, the want of diſcipline amongſt troops, &c. Indeed, there is every reaſon to believe that, whatſoever religion might have prevailed, throughout the Roman empire, the effeminacy of the people, the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and the deſpotiſm of the emperors, muſt ſooner, or later, have drawn it on, towards its deſtruction. But, the power of religion, embracing, as it were, the majority of civil and moral actions, it may be aſked, whether, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, mankind have been more vertuous, and more happy; whether ſovereigns have been leſs covetous, and leſs ſanguinary; whether the people have been more ſubmiſſive, and more quiet; whether crimes have been leſs numerous, and puniſhments leſs cruel; whether the progreſs of war hath been conducted with more humanity; and whether treaties have been more ſcrupulouſly obſerved?

We

We could wiſh, not for the honour of Chriſtianity, which doth not ſtand in need of human conſideration, but for our own ſatiſfaction, that we were able to anſwer in the affirmative; but the too ſtriking appearances of truth, and the too authentic and univerſally known records of hiſtory, riſe up in abſolute oppoſition to our deſires.

In the boſom of the church, the errors of *Donatus* and *Arius* poiſoned the firſt ſeeds of the faith; biſhops were in arms againſt biſhops: the people eſpouſed theſe quarrels, with a degree of fury; the temples, and the baſilics were diſputed, ſword in hand, and ſprinkled with the blood of the citizens; odious accuſations and atrocious calumnies were reciprocally ſcattered abroad by the chiefs of each party, whilſt theſe fanatics tore one another in pieces, with a ferocity, which, to borrow the expreſſion of a contemporary author, ſurpaſſed even the ferocity of wild beaſts.(*n*) The firſt emperor,(*o*) educated in the principles of Chriſtianity, introduces his

(*n*) Nullas infeſtas hominibus beſtias ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 22.

(*o*) *Conſtantius*.

his reign with the murder of his uncle, and of his firſt couſin. He madly throws himſelf into the party of the *Arians*, whilſt, at one moment, a bloody perſecutor, and at another moment, an ignorant conciliator, he either deals out his orders for executions, or aſſembles councils. The biſhops, perpetually hurried, from place to place, abandon, for idle controverſies, the care of their flocks; whilſt the provinces, drained by the expences of theſe journies, become at length ſcarcely able to defray them.

The ſame iniquity, the ſame injuſtice prevailed throughout the civil adminiſtration. A jealouſy, equally extravagant and cruel, became the leading principle of the government. Informers infeſted the provinces, nor did their ſuperiors bluſh at having eſtabliſhed them as a body, and given them a particular rank.(*p*) The adminiſtration degenerated into a barbarous inquiſition; puniſhments were inflicted with additional cruelty; criminals were burnt for ſlight offences; the faith

(*p*) Such were the Curioſi, a ſet of officers, who, in the quality of inſpectors, or ſpies, were ſent into all the provinces; their number is ſaid to have amounted to fifteen thouſand.

faith of treaties was no longer kept ſacred; kings were aſſaſſinated in the very midſt of peace, and even during the convivial joy, with which they celebrated their feſtivals;(q) public morals became more and more corrupted; eunuchs, the vile inſtruments of the moſt abominable pleaſures, were appointed generals and prime miniſters; the expences of the table, and the luxury of the court,

(q) *Valens*, by the baſeſt act of treachery, accompliſhed the murder of an Armenian king, who had always been attached to the Romans. *Valentinian* ordered that *Gabinius*, king of the *Quadi*, ſhould be aſſaſſinated, at a feaſt. *Valentinian* the ſecond, jealous of the great increaſe of the *Goths*, whom the emperor *Valens* had quartered, within the provinces of the empire, iſſued a proclamation, to inform them that, if, on a certain day, they ſhould aſſemble in the capital of their reſpective provinces, each individual would receive a new diſtribution of lands. Seduced by hopes, theſe unfortunate wretches did aſſemble, and were all put to the ſword.

The barbarity of *Valens*, having been mentioned in the beginning of the note, it may not, here, be improper to introduce an example, at once ridiculous and dreadful, of thoſe violent exceſſes, to which the timid and ignorant ſuperſtition of this emperor was capable of driving him. An impudent impoſtor, pretending to have diſcovered, by his ſkill in magic, that ſome particular perſon, the two firſt ſyllables of whoſe name, were

court, were, at once, boundleſs and abſurd ;(*r*) the laws, by being multiplied without end, were equal proofs of the depravity of the government, and the wickedneſs of the people : in ſhort, every thing was altered ; every thing was corrupted ; even the diſcipline of the armies, and the intrepidity of the ſoldiers, were diſordered and extinguiſhed : thus, the deſtruction of whole generations, became the only remedy againſt the evils, which afflicted the earth ; in like manner, as the ſetting fire to the thorns and briars, which over-run neglected fields, proves the ſole mean of obtaining a new and advantageous harveſt.

Whilſt

were *Theod*, was deſtined to be the next ſucceſſor to the throne, Valens ordered all to be maſſacred, whoſe appellations were introduced by theſe letters. The reader may judge how general ſuch a carnage muſt have been, when he hath recollected, that it was exceedingly common, during that and the two preceding centuries, for men to aſſume a name, ſome part of which alluded to the Greek word, ſignifying God. K.

(*r*) It is well known that Julian, ſoon after he became emperor, concluded the barber, on his entrance into the room, to be one of the great lords of his court ; and being informed of the wages, which this ſervant received, he diſcovered that they were ſufficient to maintain more than an hundred perſons.

Whilſt we are painting this melancholy picture, the affecting ſtrokes of which are not heightened beyond reality, we anxiouſly wiſh to remove, from the reader, every occaſion of ſuſpecting, that we have the ſmalleſt intention of attributing to chriſtianity thoſe diſorders againſt which we have exclaimed. Far from harbouring ſuch an idea, our only aim is to prove, that the misfortunes of the times did not permit religion to procure, for mankind, an happier ſituation in this life. Perhaps, even this very religion became a new ſource of evils; for, as the pureſt aliments are apt to grow corrupted, in bodies attacked by diſeaſes, ſo the moſt ſacred tenets of the faith are frequently converted into the inſtruments of the moſt ſhocking diſaſters. Of all the enemies of human nature, the moſt modern and the moſt cruel enemy is intolerant perſecution, which, following religion in her progreſs, ſtep by ſtep, extended itſelf, as ſhe extended, and unſheathed the ſword whereſoever the voice of zeal had propagated the word.

If we fix this epoch at the origin of that empire, which the Chriſtian religion hath maintained ever ſince, it is not becauſe, in the

the courſe of our reflections we had not before obſerved ſome ſeeds of theſe dreadful principles. A ſingle nation, amongſt the multitude of nations, which have appeared upon the ſurface of the globe, might be ſufficient to furniſh us with inſtances of the moſt bloody acts; if the Jewiſh people, who conſidered their government in the light of a perpetual inſpiration, could ſerve as an example, in the preſent caſe, where an intolerant ſpirit was exerted, ſolely, againſt abſtracted and fugitive dogmas.

It is more eaſy to comprehend, how naturally a people conclude themſelves obliged to exterminate all thoſe, who worſhip ſuch deities, as may have been ſet up, in oppoſition to their own God, than to explain how the fire and the ſword can be employed to compel perſons to expreſs the idea of *conſubſtantiality*, by a letter more, or a letter leſs.(s) It is not, therefore, without reaſon, that

(s) Ὁμοϋσιος, or Ὁμοιουσιος.— ſo, probably from an error in the preſs, are theſe words printed; whilſt I write this note, the authorities to which I could wiſh to refer, are not at hand; but if I can truſt my memory, the two terms are Ὁμοϋσιος, which deſcribed the conſubſtantiality of Chriſt with God, according to the

that the origin of this intolerant ſpirit, in matters of opinion, hath been fixed at the ſame epoch, with the propagation of chriſtianity, throughout the empire.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that the Pagan emperors were the firſt emperors who afforded an example of perſecution; but when a madman, a furious wretch, like Nero, directed his tyranny againſt the Chriſtians, he could, at leaſt, have pleaded in his vindication, that he conſidered them in the light of innovators and as rebels, who refuſed to ſubmit to the ancient and eſtabliſhed laws; for, until that period, the mode of public worſhip had compoſed a part of the legiſlation; and the Jews, or the Chriſtians, (Jews and Chriſtians, being at that time, equally the ſame to the heathens) were the firſt who determined not to conform to the public rites. Any perſon, refuſing to ſwear by the Genius of the emperor, was deemed guilty of high treaſon, and this is an article, which

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the full meaning of the Unitarians, and Ὁμοιούσιος, a phraſe by which the Semi-Arians expreſſed their opinion that the Son was indeed ſimilar to the Father in his eſſence, yet not by nature, but by a peculiar privilege. K.

which ſhould be thoroughly enquired into, if we deſire to become acquainted with every circumſtance, relative to the firſt perſecutions. But, to inflict the moſt horrid puniſhments, in order to fix the deciſion of queſtions, which were rather grammatical, than theological; to deſtroy with fire and the ſword, thoſe who invoked the ſame Supreme Being, who obſerved the ſame ceremonies, and reverenced the ſame authority, beſpeaks a madneſs, till then unparalleled, and which ſprang, in the Roman empire, from the tyranny of the emperors, and the ambition of the biſhops.

Let us be juſt, and remove from the miniſters of the goſpel a part of thoſe reproaches, with which they have been aſperſed. I aſſert it, with ſatisfaction, and I know not why the apologiſts for chriſtianity have not aſſerted it before me; this barbarous and intolerant ſpirit, theſe ſcandalous and atrocious diſputes are indebted, for no inconſiderable part of their origin, to the peculiar characteriſtic of the *Greeks*, to that unhappy paſſion, which this nation had introduced, for empty dialectics, and frivolous ſophiſms. Whatſoever may be the cauſe,

it

it was not, until the Chriſtian emperors began to reign, until even the moſt revered princes, ſuch as *Conſtantine*, and *Theodoſius* had aſcended the throne, that the ſentence of the laws was, for the firſt time, expreſſed in theſe terms: "if any perſon, whatſoever, ſhould dare to offer ſacrifices in the temple, let him be exterminated by the avenging ſword..... We command all men, upon pain of death, to believe, that one Godhead exiſteth, in three Perſons, &c. &c."*(t)*

Thus, from the firſt appearance of hereſies, that is from the æra, at which theology began to ſupply the place of morality, mankind,

(t) Placuit omnibus locis, atque urbibus univerſi claudi templa..... Quod ſi quis aliquid fortè hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore ſternatur. Cod. Teod. c. 10.

If, in the midſt of ſo much atrocious barbarity, any thing ridiculous could extort a ſmile, no words have a better claim to it than the following, extracted from a law made by *Conſtantius*: ceſſet ſuperſtitio..... &c. Nam qui contra legem divi parentis noſtri, et hanc noſtræ manſuetudinis juſſionem auſus fuerit ſacrificium celebrare, competens in eum vindicta, et præſens ſententia exerceatur.....&c. It is as if he had ſaid: if any ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs the orders, iſſuing from our moſt mild and moſt benevolent perſon, it is our will that he be immediately ſtrangled.

already condemned to ſubmit to the yoke of unjuſt maſters; laden with taxes; diſturbed in the enjoyment of their property; and harraſſed by war, and all its attendant calamities, perceived themſelves, on a ſudden, expoſed to a new ſpecies of tyranny, which, penetrating within the moſt ſecret receſſes of the human heart, ſcatters through the faculties of the ſoul, the ſame diſorders and afflictions, which civil deſpotiſm ſpreads through all our exterior relations. Thus, from the meetings of the *Nicene* council, down to the repeal of the edict of *Nantes*, every dungeon was filled with victims; ſcaffolds were continually erected; and the blood flowed in ſtreams, to conſolidate, by the feeble efforts of humanity, the work undertaken by the Son of God Himſelf.

Another inconvenience reſulting from this fanatic and excluſive ſpirit, is the deſtruction of all critical inveſtigation. This is abſolutely to extinguiſh the torch of hiſtory. Truth and certainty are the moſt likely to be our guides, when we direct our reſearches up to thoſe ancient, but obſcure records of the paſt ages. In the place of *Xenophon*, of *Livy*, of *Polybius*, and of *Tacitus*, reſpectable citizens, whoſe boſoms glowed with the vertues of every

every æra, and every country, we only find a ſet of party-writers, who relate facts, with no view, but to ſupport particular opinions. The annals, even the calendars, are ſacrificed to polemical diſputes, and the memorials of theſe miſerable times are no more than ſo many inſipid *caſes*.

Amongſt a multitude of hiſtorians, who have been either the extravagant panegyriſts, or the bitter ſatyriſts of their princes, according to their having merited commendation, or invective, from their particular ſects, but two Pagan authors have prevailed over the efforts, which were uſed to deſtroy their works. *Zoſimus*, an hiſtorian not much endued with elegance or judgement, is ſometimes led away by that ſpirit of party, which equally animated the idolaters, againſt their antagoniſts; but his hiſtory hath frequently ſerved, as a guide, to the diſcovery of a great number of facts, and the abridged and preciſe manner, ſo conſpicuous in his writings, leaves no room to imagine, that his principal view was to throw an odium upon the Chriſtians. It were to be wiſhed, that our modern compilers, who abide by his authority, in the other parts of his work, were not ſo ready to reject that

authority, whenſoever he condemns the conduct of thoſe perſonages, whom they have taken under their protection. *Theodoſius*, indeed, the hero of the catholic authors, hath met with no favour at his hands. He deſcribed him as a prince, ſunk in luxury and effeminacy; whilſt the eccleſiaſtical writers ſpeak of him, as uniting the character of a great man, with the character of an illuſtrious ſaint. But, although theſe laſt hiſtorians have taken care to acquaint us, that he frequently humbled himſelf before the clergy, and publicly aſſerted, that *Ambroſius* had fully convinced him, *how ſuperior a biſhop was to an emperor*, yet they have not produced any negative proofs againſt the imputations of *Zoſimus*. That *Theodoſius* waged war, with intrepidity and ſucceſs, cannot be denied: but, hath the flattery of hiſtorians been able to conceal that exceſſive indolence, which made him ſo long defer the moment of entering into action? and doth not this obſervation agree with that paſſion for pleaſure and voluptuouſneſs, of which he is accuſed by *Zoſimus?* May not, alſo, his behaviour to Maximus, be taxed with diſſimulation, or timidity? conſidering this impoſtor, as a rebel,

and

and a regicide, ſhould he have admitted his title of emperor, or have ſuffered the ſtatues of ſo flagitious a wretch, to be erected near his own ſtatues? if, on the contrary, *Theodoſius* felt himſelf obliged by policy, to treat as an emperor, the man whom armies and ſucceſs had crowned, ought he to have made ſecret and inſidious preparations for attacking him?*(u)* or, was it juſt, after he became the arbiter of his fate, to order that he ſhould be executed, as a rebel? again, when *Eugenius*, a new uſurper, a new accomplice of another regicide,*(x)* ſent ambaſſadors to wait upon him, ſhould he have received them ſo graciouſly? ſhould he have laviſhed ſuch

 preſents

(u) Theodoſius, to deceive *Maximus*, appeared buſied in the equipment of a large naval force; Maximus fell into the ſnare, and, the more effectually to reſiſt the pretended attacks of Theodoſius, embarked the greater part of his troops. It was then, that *Theodoſius* threw aſide the maſk; and marching towards Maximus, with a powerful army, attacked and defeated him. It hath been aſſerted, but how juſtly is difficult to determine, that *Theodoſius*, touched with his misfortune, would have ſpared his life; and that the ſoldiers, who judged him unworthy of ſo much clemency, ſtruck off his head. K.

(x) Arbogaſtes, who cauſed Valentinian to be ſtrangled, and then ſaluted Eugenius, an obſcure wretch, and once a ſchoolmaſter, with the title of emperor. K.

preſents on them, at their departure, and ſhortly afterwards, have marched againſt their maſter, in compliance with the advice of *John the Solitary*, and the commands of *Saint Philip*, and *Saint John the Evangeliſt*, who, although they had never borne arms, at any period of their lives, did, notwithſtanding, make themſelves known to him, by appearing, like the *Dioſcuri*, under the form of two beautiful knights, capariſoned from head to foot. I ſhall paſs by the maſſacre of *Theſſalonica*, a maſſacre concerted with ſo much barbarity, and executed by ſo deteſtable a treachery:—we muſt not dwell on this atrocious circumſtance. All hiſtorians unite in deſcribing it, as a fortunate event, ſince it proved the occaſion of preſenting to the Chriſtian world a more conſoling ſpectacle; an emperor humbling himſelf in the preſence of a biſhop:(y) but I cannot avoid obſerving, that

(y) *Ambroſius* refuſing to receive *Theodoſius*, within the pale of the church, until he had undergone a public penance, and the contrite emperor implicitly ſubmitting to the injunctions of the biſhop, muſt, undoubtedly, have proved a great occaſion of triumph, amongſt the Chriſtians; but comforting as the humiliating atonements

that from the conflagration of *Rome*, as ordered by *Nero*, if *Nero* really was the author of that calamity, and the ſlaughter at *Alexandria*, under *Caracalla*, hiſtory hath not furniſhed us with any inſtance of a cruelty, at once ſo odious, and ſo criminal.

We have already ſpoken concerning the judgement, which *Zoſimus* hath paſſed on *Conſtantine*. Theſe two examples may account for the endeavours, which the eccleſiaſtical authors have uſed, to weaken the credit of his writings.(z) True criticiſm, more

ments of ſuch a tyrant might be thought, they were too dearly purchaſed, with the deſtruction of ſeven thouſand human creatures; for ſo many, at leaſt, were ſlaughtered at *Theſſalonica*. K.

(z) That the reader may be the better enabled to judge, whether the criticiſm of Zoſimus be abſolutely contemptible, it may be proper to tranſcribe what he hath written, concerning the Monks. Speaking of the troubles excited at Conſtantinople, on account of Saint John Chryſoſtom, he ſaith: "the city was expoſed to tumults, and the Chriſtian church was already in the power of thoſe, whom they call Monks. Theſe are men, who have renounced marriage; and who, inhabiting the country, and the cities, have given riſe to a claſs of individuals, equally uſeleſs, and unfit, either for war, or for any civil employment; whoſe only occupation, is the graſping at, and amaſſing of immenſe wealth,

circumſpect, oppoſes ſuffrages to ſuffrages, ſcrutinizes all the intereſts, and paſſions of hiſtorians, and whereſoever it doth not meet with impartiality, ſuſpends its judgement.

Ammianus Marcellinus hath been treated with more caution and reſpect. This, indeed, was the beſt expedient, to gloſs over a diſſent from an author, whoſe character, whoſe rank in the army, and whoſe connections with the firſt members of the ſtate, are all known; a citizen, who relates his facts with perſpicuity, and that natural and ingenuous attachment, ſo conſtantly viſible, in the writings of thoſe, who have taken ſome part in the adminiſtration of affairs; in ſhort, a military man, whom we ſhould, without heſitation, compare to *Mr. de Feuquieres*,(a) if

wealth, under a pretence of aſſiſting the poor, whilſt they themſelves are the means of propagating miſery and beggary." Who doth not perceive from this paſſage, how much Zoſimus was blinded by prejudice, and what reaſon there is to ſuſpect his judgement?

(a) The *Marquis de Feuquieres* was a lieutenant-general in the French army, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth. His memoirs were written for the inſtruction of his ſon. Of theſe an Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed in 1737, forming two octavo volumes. They contain an account of the ſeveral operations of the

if the erudition and the literature, which have enriched his work, did not give him a great advantage over the French author. And yet this *Marcellinus*, from whom all the hiſtorians have borrowed materials, even for the leaſt detail, is, at once, neglected, whenſoever he hazards any favourable expreſſion, in vindication of the Pagans, or of the emperor *Julian*.

The name of *Julian* is alone ſufficient to revive endleſs diſputes. This emperor, applauded

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the war, of the ſieges which were undertaken, and the battles fought from 1672, to 1710. The military merit of this officer may be called hereditary, and ſeems to have deſcended to him from his grandfather, and father, Manaſſes, and Iſaac de Pas, who were both deſervedly celebrated for their conduct and intrepidity. The martial genius of Anthony, the ſubject of this note, hath been honorably acknowledged, even by thoſe compatriots whom he reviled. But whilſt they did juſtice to his abilities, they were ſo irritated by the ſeverity with which he had attacked them, that it was humorouſly obſerved, that the Marquis muſt be the braveſt man in Europe, who ſlept in the very midſt of a hundred thouſand enemies. His work contains a liſt of the miſtakes committed by the French generals. A propenſity to cenſure hath ſometimes ſeduced him into a miſrepreſentation of facts. Perhaps the loſs of a Marſhal's ſtaff occaſioned ſuch reprehenſible paſſages in a performance where ſo much is to be admired. K.

plauded to the ſkies, by the enemies of the Chriſtian faith, hath appeared ſo meritorious in the opinion of a celebrated modern, that he took the pains to write his hiſtory, wherein he labours to rectify and aſcertain the ideas, which the reader ought to form of him.*(b)* It will, doubtleſs, be expected by thoſe, who were offended at the liberty, with which we have ſpoken of *Conſtantine*, that Julian, ſo ſtriking a contraſt to this prince, ſhould be complimented with our panegyrics; for the ſpirit of calumny is continually apt to ſuſpect every motive; and its natural malignity eaſily

(b) Unleſs I miſtake, the modern alluded to, is Mr. de V. who, in the third chapter of his "Melanges Philoſophiques," ſpeaks of Julian, as inferior only to a ſingle individual, if not the greateſt man, that ever exiſted. His aſſertion hath been attacked, and refuted by *Gauchat*, *Soret*, and others. Were it impoſſible for one of the moſt penetrating writers that hath enlightened any age, to be in the wrong; a ſimilar paſſage in the "ſpirit of laws" might give an irreſiſtible weight to the declaration of Mr. de V. but Monteſquieu is not without his errors, nor will all his readers conclude him to be infallible, when they peruſe this ſentence. "Il n'y a point eû après Julien de prince plus digne de gouverner des hommes." ... l'Eſprit des loix, l. 24. c. 10..... V. la vie de Julien par l'Abbé Bletterie. K.

ſily ſuggeſts the artifice, which it ſuppoſes peculiar to the objects of its hatred. For once, at leaſt, its concluſions will prove erroneous. Far from taking any ſhare in this diſpute, we cannot avoid agreeing that both parties have been influenced by a childiſh obſtinacy, leſs humiliating, however, to falſe zeal, than to philoſophy; ſince philoſophy ſhould never aſſiſt reaſon with the arms of fanaticiſm. Such eagerneſs to *preconize(c)* an emperor, who ſtiled himſelf a philoſopher, ſeemed, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the youthful folly of philoſophy. In fact, this averſion from prejudices, this ſpringing forward towards the liberty of thinking, which comes, after ſo many ages, prepared to enter its appeal againſt ſuch a multitude of received opinions, cannot, amongſt us, be ſaid to boaſt a very ancient origin; and with theſe firſt efforts of reaſon, paſſion hath been frequently intermixed. It was, certainly, a crime to perſecute the Pagans, and to

(c) *Preconnizare*, a term peculiar to the Roman Catholics, and alluding to the report uſually made in the Popes conſiſtory, that the party preſented to a benefice, is qualified for it. The expreſſion, in this place, ſignifies "to beſtow exceſſive praiſe." K.

to endeavour to ſway their opinions, by the ſeverity of puniſhments; but was it not an equal crime to oppreſs chriſtianity? were toleration, and liberty of conſcience, the principles which actuated Julian, when he drenched the empire with the blood of victims; and when, a fanatic defender of falſe deities, inſtead of following, whilſt he was ſeated on the throne, the dictates of an impartial philoſophy, he preſented to the world, in his own perſon, nothing more than the pattern of a zealous heathen. I cannot admire either the vertues, which are too ſtrongly tinged with imitation, or heroes formed only after models. It is difficult to determine, what character of the comedian is the moſt prevalent in the mind of Julian. At one moment, it is Marcus Aurelius, at another moment, Trajan, and then Alexander, whom he is ſo eager to copy. This effort is equally conſpicuous in his vertues, and his abilities. All his actions are concerted, all his deſigns are borrowed from ancient examples, and all his compoſitions are grounded on the compoſitions of his own times. The *Myſopogon* is not the work of an emperor, but the work of a ſophiſt: his panegyrics

negyrics are not ſuch as a *Cæſar* ſhould have pronounced, but ſuch as a Rhetorician would have written. During the war of the Gauls, he ſeems to have ſtriven to copy Julius Cæſar; during the Perſian war, he appears to have imitated the confidence and intrepidity of Trajan; but then, what conſiſtency ſhall we diſcover in this medley of philoſophy and devotion? in morals, he was a ſtoic, in the temple, an idolater, and in his cloſet, an unworthy platoniſt, who ſought to corrupt the doctrine of this ſect, by debaſing it with the allay of magic.

But if we thus fearleſsly treat with ſo much rigour one of the greateſt princes, who adorned the lower empire, how juſtly, at the ſame time, ought we to exclaim againſt that bitterneſs, with which he hath been calumniated by the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians? what dependance can we place on their judgment, when after having canonized Conſtantine, the murderer of his wife and ſon, they rail at Julian, with the moſt indecent fury, exerting every poſſible effort to fix upon his character an imputation of crimes, too atrocious to gain credit, even although they had been attributed to Caligula, and to Nero?

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in this inſtance, we perceive, how zeal overleaps all bounds, and to what blind and inconſiderate exceſſes the emotions of hatred may be driven. Theſe, notwithſtanding, are the very authors who ſerve us as guides in eccleſiaſtical matters, and whoſe opinion we ſtill frequently follow in profane hiſtory. Having premiſed this, it is not without apprehenſions, that we introduce the names of *Socrates*, *Sozomenes*, and *Theodoret*; to theſe writers are we indebted for a multitude of exceedingly inſtructive facts, the authority of which might admit of a retrenchment of ſome part of that confidence, wherewith they were received. And here, I muſt beg leave to remark, that theſe facts have, by a ſingular good fortune, maintained an higher decree of credit, the more the authors who tranſmitted them, have been neglected. The reaſon of this is very plain. It is impoſſible to meet, in the original, with any fact, or probable event, which is not either preceded or followed by ſuch abſurd tales, as ſoon deſtroy all that reliance which we might be ſuppoſed to place on the teſtimony of the author; whereas in compilations, or in the modern abridgements, great care hath been taken to reject

reject whatſoever was fabulous, and to preſerve only thoſe details, in which the leaſt riſk ſeems to have been run, at the expence of veracity. For example, the hiſtorians who have written, ſince the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, perceiving that he took notice of an earthquake, which retarded the works, carried on to accompliſh the rebuilding of the temple of Jeruſalem, have choſen from the three authors, whom we have juſt mentioned, every credible circumſtance, in the wonderful relation, which they have tranſmitted to us; and having availed themſelves of theſe, they thought proper to add, that they were facts confirmed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Pagan writer. I muſt confeſs that there was a time, when, relying on the credit of modern authors, I believed that *Ammianus Marcellinus* had aſſerted, that the emperor Julian, having ordered the temple to be rebuilt, the work was afterwards interrupted by the interpoſition of a miracle; and this appeared to me the leſs extraordinary, as I know that the ancients are not ſparing of prodigies. The original reading, ſo conſtantly neceſſary to enable us to form a judgement, relative to the events of the paſt ages, hath abſolutely

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undeceived me. This famous paſſage, ſo often quoted, and yet ſo ſeldom delivered with fidelity, runs thus: "although the emperor was much buſied in accelerating the preparations for his expedition, *(againſt the Perſians)* he notwithſtanding knew how to divide his ſollicitude, and attention: neglecting no circumſtance which might tend to immortalize his reign, he prepared to rebuild a formerly much celebrated temple, which had been deſtroyed during the continuance of the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, begun by Veſpaſian, and terminated by Titus. The direction of this undertaking, to accompliſh which immenſe ſums were neceſſary, had been entruſted to *Alypius*, who formerly commanded in Britain. As this officer, aſſiſted by the Prefect of the province, was ſuperintending and vigorouſly encouraging the operations, dreadful flames frequently iſſuing from the foundations, conſumed the workmen, and at length rendered theſe places inacceſſible. The irruptions continuing, all attempts to proceed were entirely given up."*(d)*

Here,

(*d*) Et licet accidentium varietatem ſollicita mente præcipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagrantis

Here, ſeveral reflections naturally preſent themſelves: firſt, no circumſtance was leſs extraordinary, at that period, than the circumſtance of earthquakes attended by volcanos. At the ſame æra, and in the ſpace of a century, *Conſtantinople*, *Edeſſa*, *Antioch*, and the majority of the cities of *Aſia Minor*,

grantis ſtudio perurgeret, diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique ſui memoriam magnitudine operum geſtiens propagare, ambitioſum quondam apud. Hieroſolymam templum, quod poſt multa et interne civa certamina obſiſtente Veſpaſiano, poſteaque Tito ægre eſt oppugnatum inſtaurare, ſumptibus cogitabat immodicis; negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochenſi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes fecere locum exuſtis aliquoties operantibus in exceſſum hoc quo modo elemento deſtinatius repellente ceſſavit incertum. Ad verbum e lib. 23 Am. Marcel. fol. Bononiæ, 1517.

The truth of this miracle hath been denied, and aſſerted with equal obſtinacy. The celebrated Baſnage endeavours to weaken its credibility in his "hiſtoire des Juifs, vol. 4. Againſt this unbelieving author, and his adherents, the over-bearing giant of literature, William, lord biſhop of Glouceſter, hath appeared within the liſts, and brandiſhing his unconquerable Julian in his hand, hath at leaſt ſilenced antagoniſts whom he could not convince. K.

were deſtroyed by earthquakes. Hiſtory makes mention of ſeveral earthquakes, which happened, even at Jeruſalem. It is alſo well known, that this country abounds with bitumen, and that the conflagration of ſo large a city, and ſo rich a temple, muſt have produced much ſulphureous, and inflammable matter, which might take fire, at the ſlighteſt communication with the air. Secondly, if this event was accompanied by miraculous circumſtances, why did *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a lover of the marvellous, as all the ancients were, take ſuch care to conceal them? it will be anſwered that, nothing is more clearly to be accounted for: *Ammianus* was a Pagan, and ſuch an event muſt have proved a ſubject of endleſs triumph, to the Chriſtian religion. To this it may be replied, that it is very evident that no ſuch effect was produced; and that ſuppoſing that our author, had not been free from all partiality, one of theſe two circumſtances muſt have been the caſe; he would either have entirely omitted the fact, or have endeavoured to give it a different interpretation; all which might have been very eaſy, ſince he could have oppoſed a hundred reaſons to one reaſon. "*The Gods were irritated*

ritated at perceiving preparations, wherewith to erect a temple to the God of the Jews, a nation, over whom they had triumphed, with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, under Titus. But Heaven would not ſuffer the treaſures, and the labour of the people, to be ſacrificed, during ſuch calamitous times, to works, at once uſeleſs, and oſtentatious." Do we not know that writers never ſeem to want reaſons, wherewith to explain the cauſes of events? Ammianus did not, therefore, conſider this event, as a prodigy, neither had any of his contemporaries embraced a different opinion, ſince he hath taken no pains to oppoſe it, nor even deigned to drop the ſmalleſt reflection on the ſubject. Now, I think that the indifference of one party, is, in general, the ſtrongeſt evidence which can be produced, againſt the allegations of the other party; for, in ſhort, with how little credit ſoever, the *convulſionnaires* might be received at preſent; no author will ever write the hiſtory of our times, without making ſome remarks on what happened at the church of *Saint Medard*, and even the fanatic performance of M**** hath been honoured with ſome refutations. But *Sozomenes* and *Theodoret* are reputable authors; and they enter into a full

detail of this fact. Be it ſo; but if the teſtimony of Sozomenes prove of ſuch great weight, we muſt, then, believe in ſorcerers, we muſt imagine that magicians were able to make the demons appear before them, and to command the oracles.*(e)* We muſt alſo ſuppoſe that Julian, the leaſt ſanguinary of all the princes, ordered the bodies of the women to be ripped up, that he might conſult their entrails; we muſt be convinced that the Sibyls have evidently mentioned the myſtery of the redemption, and alluded to it in this line.

" O felix lignum in quo Deus ipſe pependit."

Neither

(e) It is to Sozomenes that we are obliged for the childiſh ſtory of Julian, who is ſaid to have been introduced into a cave, in order to conſult the demons, and to have made, on his becoming frightened, the ſign of the croſs, which occaſioned them to diſappear. This author quotes a number of oracles, in favour of the Chriſtians; and yet it hath been well known, at leaſt, ever ſince the appearance of that famous diſſertation, compoſed by Mr. Vandale, and the excellent abridgement of it by Mr. de Fontenelle, that the oracles never were inſpired by the demons; and that this whole affair was nothing more than an impoſition, carried on by the deteſtable knavery of the prieſts.

(f) Neither is it to be doubted, that in Judæa, a luminous croſs appeared, which covered half the ſky; and that another croſs appeared, during the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; and that the habits of the labourers were covered with little ſtars, which abſolutely remained fixed thereon, and ſeemed as if they had been worked into the ſtuff.*(g)* If the reader ſhould prefer *Theodoret*, he will find that *Julian*, when he quitted *Gaul*, in order to give battle to *Conſtantius*, paſſed by a vine, the grapes of which had been already gathered, and yet found it loaden with freſh green bunches, having an infinite number of little croſſes, imprinted by the drops of dew, upon their berries. It will be no great trouble to open *Socrates*, who hath advanced the ſame fact; and from whoſe writings theſe authors

(f) See his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. b. 11. c. 5.

(g) The Chriſtians of this period, were poſſeſſed, even to a degree of frenzy, with a notion that they ſaw croſſes, in every place. When *Theodoſius* ordered the temple of *Serapis* to be pulled down, it was reported that in demoliſhing the walls, croſſes were diſcovered, engraven on the greater part of the ſtones: but, on a cloſer examination, it appeared that theſe engravings repreſented the Phallus. It is well known that the Phallus was a repreſentation of the mark of virility.

have probably copied. The only difference between *Socrates* and Sozomenes, is, that the one aſſerts that the miracle wrought at Jeruſalem, converted all the Jews; whilſt the other affirms, that not one of thoſe Jews was either ſtricken with theſe prodigies, or diſpoſed to embrace the religion of the Chriſtians.

We ſhall conclude this article with a reflection, which ſeems to have eſcaped the notice of the preceding critics; namely, that whether it aroſe from the frauds practiſed by the people, who were enemies to drudgery, and labour, or whether it proceeded from that ſuperſtition, peculiar to unpoliſhed minds, in whoſe ideas, the great and the marvellous are ſo eaſily confounded, it frequently happened that important enterpriſes were interrupted by prodigies. I ſhall only produce one inſtance taken from Dion. This author relates, that whilſt Nero was attempting to divide the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, ſeveral phantoms appeared, and intimidated the workmen. Theſe phantoms were, in fact, no other than the phantoms of fatigue, and impatience, but the writers of thoſe times, were cautious of making ſuch a confeſſion, for then, a prodigy was of more conſequence,

and

and in higher eſtimation, than any natural, or probable circumſtance whatſoever.(*b*) As to the reſt, it would furniſh ſuch little occaſion of triumph to the Chriſtian religion, whether this miracle happened, or not, that we cannot reaſonably be taxed with any ill intentions, in the courſe of this inveſtigation. We are not, in the preſent inſtance, more criminal than many reſpectable writers, who have called in queſtion, the relation of the miracles of the *Theban Legion*, and the *Labarum*, whatever honour they might have reflected on Chriſtianity. Judicious and diſcerning criticiſms will always redound to the advantage of truth; they will increaſe its luſtre, either by throwing it into its genuine and moſt brilliant light, or by ſeparating it from all impure allay.

(*b*) How many ſtories of apparitions, have riſen out of the inventions of lazy, or ſelf-intereſted domeſtics? even amongſt the troops, ſuch relations have been known to gain credit, and abſolutely elude the vigilance, and diſcernment of the chief officers. It hath frequently happened that the ſoldiers fatigued and harraſſed with having mounted guard, at ſome inconvenient poſt, have, at length, ſeduced others into a perſuaſion that it was haunted by a ſpirit, and ſo, concluded the farce, by deſerting their ſtations.

We ſhall not enter into the particulars of thoſe times, which fill up the interval, from the death of *Conſtantine*, to the deſtruction of the Weſtern empire. The ravages of deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, and war, preyed equally on the conquerors, and the conquered. The ancient ſtates were driven to the laſt ſtage of calamity. New nations, or rather *Barbarians*, as yet ferocious, as yet wandering through the darkneſs of ignorance; without a country, and without property; now warriors, and now travellers; at one moment crowned with victory, and at another moment ſunk in ſlavery; always agitated, and as conſtantly, either laden with adverſity, or intoxicated with ſlaughter, were, then, more aſtoniſhed at, than charmed with their ſucceſs. No enjoyment followed their acquiſitions, whilſt their only happy hours were the hours of victory. All the *Barbarian* princes, except *Genſeric*, fell by the hands of one another, and periſhed miſerably.

The motives for war, were, at that period, the moſt reaſonable, which could have been ſuggeſted in its juſtification: and theſe motives were, on the one hand, the defence of their country; and on the other hand, the

neceſſity

neceſſity of procuring a ſubſiſtence, and the deſire of enjoying an happier life, within a milder climate. But this war became more ſanguinary than ever; religion far from diminiſhing the horrors of it, had only given a keener edge to the inveterate exertions of hatred; ſuch was the ſpirit of party; ſo intimately was it blended with ambition, and all the ſcourges of humanity.

It is not a little ſingular that this æra of guilt and madneſs ſhould have given birth to excellent civil laws.(*i*) We may perceive, that ſome of the wiſeſt of thoſe laws were inſtituted by princes, who reigned in the very midſt of theſe troubles, and whoſe reigns were alſo but of ſhort duration.(*k*) When

(*i*) Valentinian the firſt introduced a toleration act within his dominions; we read in "l'hiſtoire du bas empire," that this prince, after having long meditated on the part which might be the propereſt for him to take, at length, gave the preference to the worſt part. This book hath been written, ſince the beginning of this century.

(*k*) Valentinian, who ſucceeded the emperor Julian, in February, 364, and died, in conſequence of the burſting of a vein, during a fit of paſſion, in November 375, did not reign quite twelve years. This prince, perceiving the ſordid habits of the ambaſſadors of the Quadi,

When the perpetration of abuſes was confined to no limits, ſuch regulations became neceſſary. Thus, amidſt epidemical diſorders, the ſcience of phyſic acquires a greater degree of perfection; and thus, amongſt armies, the knowledge of ſurgery is rendered more unerring, and extenſive. The power of the clergy was, at different times, made ſubject to particular reſtrictions: the boldneſs, and the inſolence of the monks were ſomewhat curbed by the *Chalcedonian council*,(*l*) and the unmarried women were forbidden to take the vows, until they had attained

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Quadi, a people too poor to purchaſe apparel, and too unpoliſhed to underſtand the propriety of dreſs, ridiculouſly imagined that their garbs had been aſſumed, with an intention to inſult him, and thus ſacrificed his life to the violence of rage. Valens, his brother and aſſociate in the empire, had only reached the fifteenth year of his reign, when taking refuge after his defeat within a neighbouring houſe, he was ſurrounded by the Goths, who, with the building, reduced the body of their enemy to aſhes. K.

(*l*) They were made ſubject to the juriſdiction of the ordinary, and forbidden to intermeddle in civil affairs, and particularly in matters relating to the finances. "Hiſt. du bas emp. l. 33.

tained to the age of forty.(*m*) Each city was allowed its tribunes, or protectors, who, under the title of *defenſores*, undertook to plead the cauſes of the poor and oppreſſed citizens.(*n*) The emperors, alarmed at the readineſs, with which they granted favours, and privileges, directed that their conduct ſhould be ſubmitted to the examination of the magiſtrates, and commanded theſe laſt to pay no regard to their orders, whenſoever they did not appear ſtrictly conformable to the eſtabliſhed laws. But ſuch precautions which ſtill ſubſiſt amongſt the French, and are uſeful under an abſolute form of government,(*o*) diſcover an imperfection in the main ſpring

(*m*) This law was inſtituted by Majorian, who made a ridiculous decree, obliging all widows who had no children, either to marry again, or to give up the half of their effects, to their next heirs. ibid. l. 34.

(*n*) Under Valentinian, and Valens.

(*o*) An ordinance paſſed, during the reign of Lewis the twelfth, forbidding the magiſtrates to pay the leaſt regard to the "lettres de juſſion," (*letters containing orders from the chancellor, &c.*) whenſoever they ſhould be found contrary to the laws of the monarchy, and the public welfare.

With this edict, no unpleaſing earneſt of the ſubſequent felicity of his people, Lewis opened a reign, which,

ſpring of the political machine, a defect in the conſtitution. Republics are ſtrangers to any thing like this: and it were perhaps better that authority ſhould reſtrain its powers of adminiſtration, within certain bounds, than that the diſobedience of the magiſtrates ſhould be connived at. The emperors alſo concerted meaſures, to render travelling more eaſy. The roads were repaired; places of accommodation were erected, at convenient diſtances, and relays were always kept in readineſs, at the expence of the provinces.

At

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which, could we throw a veil over his mercenary diſpoſal of preferments, his unworthy protection of Alexander the ſixth, the worſt Pope, and the worſt man, and his deſertion of his allies, the Swiſs, approached nearer than moſt other reigns to the government of an excellent father, over his fortunate children. In ſpite of ſome diſagreeable ſhades, his picture, as drawn by the rough pencil of *Saint Gelais*, is certainly a juſt reſemblance. "*Il ne courut oncques du regne de nul des autres ſi bon tems qu'il a fait durant le ſien.*" It is ſcarcely poſſible for an Engliſhman, who perceives even in a rival ſtate ſuch multitudes deſerving of a better lot, to cloſe this note, before he hath remarked, with equal indignation and concern, that had the ordinance of Lewis ſubſiſted in its full force, during the preſent period, every *lettre de juſſion* would have proved as inſignificant, as are the murmurs of the meaneſt peaſant, who languiſhes under its oppreſſions. K.

At this period, mankind had no idea of the very intereſting ſcience of finances and commerce. The neceſſity of erecting an impaſſable wall, around the frontiers, to prevent the circulation of the national ſpecies, through foreign countries, was, then, univerſally aſſented to: and this opinion hath prevailed, even till within theſe fifty years. *Conſtantius* proclaimed a law, declaring that commerce ſhould be carried on, ſolely, by barter. It provided that all foreign negociators, on their arrival, within the empire, ſhould be obliged to declare what ſums of money, they brought with them, in order that means might be taken to prevent them, from adding to thoſe ſums, previous to their return. The ſame law prohibited an exchange of the money of the empire, for the money of any other nation. It was not, at that time, known that merchandize can command ſpecies, and that without liberty, neither commerce, nor riches can exiſt.

As to the *Barbarians*, no ſooner did they acquire a degree of ſtability, before they turned their thoughts towards a neceſſary legiſlation. They ſeem to have ſucceeded even better than the emperors, whoſe too complicated

cated laws were ſomewhat infected with the ſubtlety of the Greeks. The *Theodorician* code was during a long time in force, in Spain, and it may, in part, be diſcovered in the capitulars of *Charlemagne*. But this is a ſubject, on which we muſt expatiate more largely, in the courſe of the following chapters, where ſociety will aſſume a different aſpect, and where we ſhall find a new order of things, a new political, and moral ſyſtem. In fact, the very expreſſion, *feodal law*, of itſelf ſufficiently announces the greateſt revolution, which hath ever been effected upon earth, and at once reveals to us the ſcources of all modern governments. It is time, therefore, that we take our leave of this celebrated people, to whoſe ſway the univerſe ſubmitted and whoſe ſtate we have preſumed to make the ſubject of our obſervations. After having ſeen them laborioufly extend themſelves through the little territory of the *Romagna*, free themſelves from the *yoke* of kings, reduce nations under their own yoke, become intoxicated with glory and ſucceſs, fall into that imbecility which ſucceeds a delirium, then, wear freſh chains, grow ſhortly more mean, and abject, than they were once haughty,

haughty, and oſtentatious; and, to fill up the meaſure of infamy, yield to *Barbarians*, the empire of arms, and to effeminate Greeks, the empire of opinion, we, at length, find them, ſubmitting to the power of a *Goth*, and an *Herulian*.(*p*)

Before we turn our eyes aſide from this prodigious ruin, we muſt lament, not that ſuch a ſeries of good fortune ſhould have been eclipſed, to leave behind it, only the moſt melancholy traces; but that a period of near twelve centuries affords no æra, at which ſo powerful a nation hath attempted to cloſe the wounds of humanity, by cheriſhing the exiſtence of public welfare and proſperity. We are not apprehenſive of aſſerting, that all the long and brilliant career of the *Roman* empire, cannot, to a philoſopher, be worth the times, which have elapſed in England, from the revolution, to the preſent period; but of this, we muſt treat more fully in the courſe of our work. We ſhall, however, obſerve, that as in the celeſtial revolutions, the planets are confined to their particular motions, ſo, in political revolutions, the

(*p*) Odoacer, and Theodoric.

the capitals, the great cities are ſubject, alſo, to their deſtiny, their peculiar fortune, which either accelerates, or retards their deſtruction, which either overthrows, or ſupports them. But farther; this particular chain of circumſtances is, according to all appearance, more frequently advantageous, than detrimental to them. Experience proves that, during thoſe unhappy times, when military deſpotiſm roſe upon the wreck of government, the great cities always maintained a kind of liberty. The reaſon is, becauſe, however ſpecious the maſk which policy may have aſſumed, force alone preſerves the privilege of governing; becauſe a great number of men, ſtrictly united, become reſpectable; and becauſe the multitude, or common people are always to be dreaded; eſpecially, when deprived of repreſentatives, and protectors, they expreſs their meaning only by tumultuous ſhouts, and act but by ſome ſudden, and wild aſſault. Even Rome was not reduced to this laſt ſtage of power. She always enjoyed the ſame order of magiſtrates; and the credit of names, is to a degenerated people, what the credit of the magiſtracy itſelf, is to a vertuous people. Some remains of Ariſtocracy maintained their ground,

ground, in this metropolis of the world; and to theſe remains Paganiſm was conſtantly attached; all which fully confirms what hath been before advanced, relative to the union of this religion, with the Roman ariſtocracy. The *Symmachi* and the *Pretextati* revived the memory of *Cato*, and of *Cincinnatus*. As to the people, if they retained the leaſt traces of their ancient liberty, they were viſible in the indifference with which they frequently treated the moſt formidable emperors. The diſguſt, which the furious Diocleſian conceived at their behaviour, is well known. When *Conſtantius*, all covered with the blood of his ſubjects, made his triumphal entry into *Rome*, low tauntings, and ridiculous jeſts were, according to the ancient cuſtom, levelled at him, with impunity. This ſplendid city was yet filled with riches, when the Barbarians pillaged it, for the firſt time. Several authors aſſert, that many citizens were in poſſeſſion of a revenue of above four millions; and that ſuch as were worth no more than a million, or a million and an half, were placed only in the ſecond claſs of citizens. Theſe indolent and opulent men imagined that the enjoyment of pleaſure was the ſole end of

their creation; and were contented to remain as idle ſpectators of the events of war, as they were of the events of the Circus; with this difference only, that in theſe laſt events, they ſeemed to feel themſelves more intereſted. Even the emperors had, during a long time, accuſtomed them to this luxurious effeminacy. *I go* (ſaid *Aurelius* to them, in one of his edicts) *to fight the enemy: and I will take care that the Romans ſhall not ſuffer the ſlighteſt uneaſineſs. Attend to your games. Frequent your Circus. It is our part to conduct the public buſineſs. But you ſhould be entirely devoted to pleaſure.*(q) It is eaſy to conceive that in the midſt of ſo much luxury, and effeminacy, the public morals were daily degenerating. *Petronius* and *Lucian* have made us ſufficiently acquainted with the parade and extravagance, peculiar to the entertainments, which were given in their times: but as *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath taken the pains to deſcribe the manners of the Romans, during a leſs diſtant period, namely, the age in which he lived, the reader will, probably, be pleaſed

(q) Ego efficiam ne ſit aliqua ſollicitudo Romana. Vacate ludis, vacate Circenſibus; nos publicæ neceſſitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. (Vopiſcus.)

pleaſed if we preſent him with the whole paſſage, as related in the ſixth chapter of the fourteenth book.

Were you, on your arrival at Rome, to be introduced, as a reputable foreigner, to an opulent, or in other words, a very oſtentatious man, your firſt reception would be accompanied with every mark of politeneſs; after having been overpowered by queſtions, to which it will be the moſt frequently neceſſary to anſwer, by relating ſome extravagant ſtories, you will become aſtoniſhed to find, that a perſon of ſuch diſtinction, ſhould treat a ſimple individual with ſo reſpectful an attention: nay, you will even be ready to condemn yourſelf for not having viſited ſo charming a city, ten years ſooner. But if, encouraged by this obliging welcome, you ſhould return on the morrow, to pay your compliments, a ſtranger, dropped from the clouds, could not be more ſtared at. Who is he? and, whence comes he? would be circulated in ill-bred whiſpers round the room. At length, however, you will attain to the honour of being known, and admitted on a familiar footing; but yet, if, after three years of aſſiduous attendance, you were to abſent yourſelf, for the ſame ſpace of

time, you would not, on your return, be either aſked how you had been employed, or even told that the loſs of your company was perceived. This abſurdity is carried ſtill farther, for, previous to the giving of thoſe entertainments, which are ſo long, and ſo detrimental to health, it is a matter of tedious deliberation, whether, excluſive of ſuch gueſts, as are entitled to invitations, any ſtrangers ſhall alſo be aſked: and if, after a full hearing, and on mature reflection, this point be carried in the affirmative, then the great adepts in all the laws of public games, who never fail to mount guard at the houſes of the charioteers belonging to the Circus, *or perſons the moſt inſtructed in the ſcience, and the tricks of play, are the only ſtrangers deſtined to be admitted. As to the men of learning, and vertue, they are ſhunned, as the tireſome and uſeleſs diſturbers of feſtive mirth: nor doth it once employ their thoughts that the* Nomenclatores, *accuſtomed to ſell the favours of their maſters, take care to invite to the feaſt, and the diſtributions, only the moſt obſcure and inferiour individuals, from whom they can extort more money, than from the others. I ſhall paſs ſlightly over that ſumptuous profuſion, in their entertainments, and particularly thoſe voluptuous refinements*

ments lately introduced, to take notice of the ridiculous cavalcades, attending on our oſtentatious, rich men, who amuſing themſelves with running poſt, up and down the ſtreets, at the riſk of breaking their necks, on the pavement, are followed by ſuch a numerous train of domeſtics, that, to borrow the expreſſion of a comic writer, they do not even leave the fool behind, to keep houſe: however abſurd this diverſion be, the very matrons are not aſhamed to follow it, but hurry through every quarter of the town, in open litters. In theſe pompous proceſſions, nothing is neglected, and as the expert general, who marſhals his army, in a proper order of battle, places his heavy infantry in the front line, his light infantry in the ſecond line, and his bowmen in the rear, ſo the maſter of the ceremonies, bearing a wand in his hand, ſingles out all thoſe who are to have the honour of walking before the triumphal car, and conſtantly obliges the black troop of cooks, ſcullions, &c. to fall back into the hinder ranks. Theſe, again, are followed by the remaining number of footmen, and by the Commenſales: *the proceſſion is then cloſed by the eunuchs, a deformed multitude, who teach us to execrate the memory of* Semiramis, *that barbarous queen, who, firſt violating the laws*

laws of nature, filled this tender, but imprudent mother, with regret, for having too early shewn, in the generations which were scarce begun, the hope of future generations. In such a state of manners, it will easily be supposed, that the few houses, in which the sciences were formerly cultivated, are now only the receptacles of vain and frivolous pleasures: so that in the place of orators, and philosophers, nothing is heard from morning till night, except the sound of flutes, and the airs of the musicians. As to the libraries, they are more shut up and more abandoned than the sepulchres: dances, accompanied by wind instruments are substituted in their room: nay, to so shameful a length have these indignities been carried, that when the famine had rendered it necessary, to send all foreigners out of the city, the law was rigorously put in execution against every one of those useful men, who were the instructors in liberal arts; whilst mimics, stage players, and even three thousand female dancers, with their whole band of musicians and singers, were suffered to remain within the capital. Wheresoever you turn your eyes, you will, also, perceive the women painted, and ridiculously dressed; these tire you more by their continual dancing, than they fatigue themselves;

ſelves; and theſe, had they been married to honeſt men, might have ſupplied the ſtate with an uſeful army of citizens. Rome was once a ſure aſylum to every individual, who introduced the arts and induſtry; but now, a fooliſh and unaccountable vanity eſteems every thing vile, and abject, which comes from beyond the Pomærium. *I muſt, however, except the unmarried men, and ſuch as have no heirs. Theſe are loaden with reſpect and complaiſance; although another ſelfiſh refinement makes us avoid even the tendereſt duties of humanity; for the moſt terrible diſeaſes, raging within this capital of the world, have occaſioned a ſtrict prohibition of the leaſt communication with thoſe unhappy wretches, who are infected with them: and it is now cuſtomary, not only to think it ſufficient, if ſome domeſtics be ſent to theſe perſons, to enquire of them any particular news, but to oblige the meſſenger to go through long ablutions before he can be admitted, to deliver the anſwer. How delicate theſe men are! and yet, if you invite them to a feaſt, or offer them money, they will run for you, even to* Spoletum. *Such are the manners of the nobility: as to the common people, they generally ſpend the night in drinking houſes, or even in the theatres, under thoſe booths,*

booths, the invention of which we owe to Catulus, *who first introduced at* Rome *these far-fetched commodities, which might better have become* Capua, *than the city of* Romulus. *Multitudes are intoxicated with a passion for gaming. Others expose themselves, during whole days, to the heat, and the rain, to be the umpires amongst the charioteers, and decide on the events of the* Circus. *Amidst such frivolous engagements, is it possible that the* Romans *can ever be reasonably employed? &c. &c.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

SECTION I. CHAPTER I. page 33. line 7. Theſe pyramids, in vain intended to eſcape the rage of time, are now mouldering into ruin. "When the monarchs of Egypt erected ſuch ſtupendous maſſes, for no other uſe but to record their names, they little ſuſpected that a weed growing by the Nile would one day be converted into more durable regiſters of fame, than quarries of marble, and granite." I am indebted for this remark to Mr. Horace Walpole, one of thoſe uncommon writers in whoſe hands the pen of hiſtory amuſes the imagination, whilſt it enlightens the underſtanding.

SECTION I. CHAPTER II. page 54. note *(i)*. "Diodorus Siculus aſſigns three millions of inhabitants to Egypt; a ſmall number; but then he makes the number of their cities amount to eighteen thouſand: an evident contradiction." See Hume's eſſay on the populouſneſs of ancient nations. vol. 2. 8vo. p. 224.

SECTION I. CHAPTER II. page 57. note *(l)*. I flatter myſelf that the reader who hath no opportunity of conſulting the works of that celebrated political arithmetician, Sir William Petty, will not think me treſpaſſing upon his time, whilſt I preſent him with a quotation, the ſingularity of which may atone for its length. "Here, I beg leave, among the ſeveral matters which I intend for ſerious, to interpoſe a jocular, and perhaps whimſical digreſſion, and which I indeed deſire men to look upon rather as a dream, or reſverie, than a rational propoſition, the which is, that if all the moveables, and people of Ireland, and of the highlands of Scotland, were tranſported into the reſt of Great Britain, that then the king, and his ſubjects would thereby become more rich, and ſtrong, both offenſively, and defenſively, than now they are."

" It is true that I have heard many wiſe men ſay when they were bewailing the vaſt loſſes of the Engliſh in preventing, and ſuppreſſing rebellions in Ireland, and conſidering how little profit hath returned either to the king, or ſubjects of England, for their five hundred years doing, or ſuffering in that country, I ſay, I have heard wiſe men, in ſuch their melancolies, wiſh that the people of Ireland being ſaved, that iſland were ſunk under water. Now, it troubles me that the diſtemper of my own mind in this point, carries me to dream that the benefit of thoſe wiſhes may be obtained practically, without ſinking that vaſt mountainous iſland under water, which I take to be ſomewhat difficult; for although Dutch engineers may drain its bogs, yet I know no artiſts that could ſink its mountains. If ingenious, and learned men, amongſt whom I reckon ſir Thomas More, and Des-Cartes, have diſputed that we, who think ourſelves waking, are, or may be really in a dream; and ſince the greateſt abſurdities of dreams are but a prepoſterous, and tumultuary contexture of realities, I will crave the umbrage of theſe great men laſt named, to ſay ſomething for this wild conception, with ſubmiſſion to the better judgment of all thoſe that can prove themſelves awake."

" If there were but one man living in England, then the benefit of the whole territory could be but the livelihood of that one man: but if another man were added, the rent, or benefit of the ſame would be double, if two, triple; and ſo forward until ſo many men were planted in it, as the whole territory could afford food unto: For if a man would know what any land is worth, the true, and natural queſtion muſt be, how many men are there to be fed? but to ſpeak more practically, land of the ſame quantity, and quality in England is generally worth four, or five times as much as in Ireland, and but $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of what it is worth in Holland; becauſe England is four or five times better peopled than Ireland, and but $\frac{1}{4}$ ſo well as Holland. And moreover, where the rent of land is advanced by reaſon of a multitude of people, there the number of years purchaſe, for which the inheritance may be ſold, is alſo advanced, though perhaps not in the very ſame proportion; for 20s. per annum in Ireland

land may be worth but 8l. and in England, where titles are very ſure, above 20l. in Holland, above 30l."

I ſuppoſe that in Ireland, and the Highlands in Scotland, there may be about 1800000 people, or about $\frac{1}{5}$ part of what is in all the three kingdoms. Wherefore the firſt queſtion will be whether England, Wales, and the lowlands of Scotland cannot afford food, that is to ſay, corn, fiſh, fleſh, and fowl to $\frac{1}{5}$ part more people than are at preſent planted upon it, with the ſame labour that the ſaid $\frac{1}{5}$ part do now take where they are? for if ſo, then what is propounded, is naturally poſſible. 2. It is to be enquired what the value of the immoveables which upon ſuch removal muſt be left behind, are worth? for if they be worth leſs than the advancement of the price of land in England will amount unto, then the propoſal is to be conſidered. 3. If the deſerted lands, and the immoveables left behind upon them may be ſold for money, or if no other nation ſhall dare meddle with them, without paying well for them: and if the nation who ſhall be admitted ſhall be leſs able to prejudice, and annoy the tranſplantees into England, than before; then I conceive that the whole propoſal will be a pleaſant, and a profitable dream indeed.

"As to the firſt point, whether England, and the lowlands of Scotland can maintain $\frac{1}{5}$ part more people than they now do, that is to ſay, nine millions of ſouls in all? for anſwer thereunto, I firſt ſay that the ſaid territories of England, and the lowlands of Scotland contain about 36 millions of acres, that is four acres for every head, man, woman, and child; but the United provinces do not allow above 1 acre and $\frac{1}{2}$; and England itſelf reſcinding Wales, hath but 3 acres to every head, according to the preſent ſtate of tillage, and huſbandry. Now, if we conſider that England having but three acres to every head as aforeſaid, doth ſo abound in victuals, as that it maketh laws againſt the importation of cattle, fleſh, and fiſh, from abroad; and that the draining of fens, improving of foreſts, incloſing of commons, ſowing of Saint-foin and clover-graſs be grumbled againſt by landlords, as the way to depreſs the price of victuals, then it plainly follows that leſs than three acres improved as it may be, will ſerve the turn, and conſequently that four will ſuffice

abundantly. I could here ſet down the very number of acres that would bear bread, and drink corn, together with fleſh, butter, and cheeſe, ſufficient to victual 9 millions of perſons, as they are victualled in ſhips, and regular families: but ſhall only ſay in general that twelve millions of acres, viz. $\frac{1}{3}$ of thirty-ſix millions will do it, ſuppoſing that roots, fruits, fowl, and fiſh, and the ordinary profit of lead, tin, iron mines, and woods would piece up any defect that may be feared."

"As to the ſecond, I ſay that the land, and houſing in Ireland, and the Highlands of Scotland, at the preſent market rates are not worth 13 millions of money; nor would the actual charge of making the tranſplantation propoſed, amount to 4 millions more: ſo then the queſtion will be, whether the benefit expected from this tranſplantation will exceed 17 millions." "To which I ſay that the advantage will probably be near 4 times the laſt mentioned ſum, or about 69300000l. For if the rent of all England, and Wales, and the Lowlands of Scotland be about 9 millions per annum, and if the fifth part of the people be ſuperadded unto the preſent inhabitants of thoſe countries, then the rent will amount unto 10,800,000l. and the number of years purchaſe will riſe from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{4}{5}$ more, which is 21. So as the land which is now worth but 9 millions per annum, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ years purchaſe, making 157 millions and $\frac{1}{2}$, will then be worth 108000000l. at 21 years purchaſe, viz. 226,800000l. that is 69,300000l. more than it was before."

"And if any prince willing to enlarge his territories, will give any thing more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or half the preſent value for the ſaid relinquiſhed lands, which are eſtimated to be worth 13 millions, then the whole profit will be above 75,800,600l. or above four times the loſs, as the ſame was above computed. But if any man ſhall object that it will be dangerous unto England, that Ireland ſhould be in the hands of any other nation. I anſwer in ſhort, that that nation, whoever ſhall purchaſe it, being divided by means of the ſaid purchaſe, ſhall not be more able to annoy England, than now in its united condition: nor is Ireland nearer England, than France, or Flanders.

"Now

" Now if any man ſhall deſire a more clear explanation, how, and by what means the rents of lands ſhall riſe by this cloſer cohabitation of people above deſcribed? I anſwer, that the advantage will ariſe in tranſplanting about 1800000 people from the poor, and miſerable trade of huſbandry, to more beneficial handicrafts; for when the ſuperaddition is made, a very little addition of huſbandry to the ſame lands will produce $\frac{1}{5}$ more of food, and conſequently the additional hands, earning but 40s. per annum, (as they may very well do, nay to 8l. per annum) at ſome other trade, the ſuperlucration will be above 3,6000001. per annum, which at 20 years purchaſe, is 70 millions. Moreover, as the inhabitants of cities, and towns, ſpend more commodities, and make greater conſumptions than thoſe who live in wild, thin-peopled countries; ſo when England ſhall be thicker peopled in the ſame manner above deſcribed, the very ſame people ſhall then ſpend more, than when they lived more ſordidly, and more inurbanely, and farther aſunder, and more out of ſight, obſervation, and emulation of each other; every man deſiring to put on better apparel when he appears in company, than when he has no occaſion to be ſeen."

" I further add that the charge of the government, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical would be more cheap, ſafe, and effectual in this condition of cloſer cohabitation, than otherwiſe, as not only reaſon, but the example of the United provinces doth demonſtrate."

With what juſtice Sir William drew theſe obſervations from the complection of affairs, towards the cloſe of the laſt century, and whether they can in any manner be applicable to the preſent times, the intelligent politician muſt determine.

SECTION I. CHAPTER V. Page 151. Note *(a)* The commentaries on Polybius are ample teſtimonies of the military experience of the chevalier de Folard, an able and intrepid officer. He had the honour of inſtructing Marſhal de Saxe, and frequently foretold the luſtre which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed the riper years of that hero. Such a pupil is the beſt panegyric on the maſter. The materials of his work are more excellent, than the form, into which they are thrown, is pleaſing,

The ſtile is negligent, the reflections are too detached, and the digreſſions often long and needleſs. Yet his talents were as eminent as his vertues. It is a melancholy circumſtance, that integrity and knowledge, which ſhould be the moſt invincible ſecurities againſt the abſurdities of ſuperſtition, are not conſtantly ſufficient to guard us from it. Folard enliſted amongſt the partiſans for the miracles of the Abbé de Paris, and therefore, the cardinal de Fleury, who perſecuted, when he ſhould have pitied, prevented his advancement. The other works of this writer are "Nouvelles decouvertes ſur la guerre." "Traité de la defenſe des places." "Traité du metier de Partiſan." He died at Avignon in 1751.

SECTION I. Concluſion of the fifth chapter. note *(f)*. Paulus Æmilius addreſſed the Romans in words to this effect. "The conviction that ſuch an honour was neceſſary to my views, induced me to ſollicit the elevation to my firſt conſulſhip: that I am again choſen to fill this important ſtation, muſt have proceeded from your being ſenſible how much you wanted the ſervices of ſuch a general. For this reaſon, I cannot imagine that I owe you any thanks: if it be your opinion that the operations of the war may be more advantageouſly conducted by another, than by me, I will chearfully reſign my poſt. If, on the contrary, you confide in my abilities, remember that I will not ſuffer you to interfere with me, in the execution of my office. It is not your province to preſcribe the meaſures which I am to purſue, but in ſubmiſſive ſilence to furniſh me with all the means which may be wanting to the accompliſhment of my deſigns. By an endeavour to govern me, whom you have exalted to the chief command, you muſt unavoidably render this expedition as ridiculous as the former expedition."

SECTION I. CHAPTER VI. Page 178. Line 17. Polieuctes, a character in a tragedy of that name, written by Corneille.

SECTION I. CHAPTER VI. page 194. note (*r*). This period of the Roman hiſtory is caſt within ſo marvellous a mold, that every leſs exaggerated fable, when put in competition with ſuch abſurd romances, aſſumes the face of ſober truth. When Florus obſerves that

that " tum illa Romana prodigia, atque miracula Horatius, Mucius, Clelia, quæ niſi in annalibus forent, hodie fabulæ viderentur," he ſeems, however, credulous himſelf, to authoriſe our doubts. The extraordinary anecdote of Horatius is indeed ſupported by the teſtimonies of Livy, Dionyſius Haliçarnaſſius, and Plutarch, who mention his having plunged into the Tyber, and rejoined his fellow ſoldiers; but it is remarkable that Polybius, a writer of no inconſiderable weight, hath aſſerted that Horatius periſhed in the river. " Ο δε Κοκλης ριψας εαυτον εις τον ποταμον εν τοις οπλοις κατα προαιρεσιν, μετηλλαξε τον βιον." lib. 6. To the remark which the ingenious author of this work hath made, concerning the ſilence of Dionyſius, on the ſubject of Mutius Scævola, having reduced his hand to aſhes, may be added the circumſtance of his being conſtantly ſtiled by that hiſtorian, Cordus, and not Scævola. The account of Clelia is equally involved in obſcurity, and variouſly related by Livy, Dionyſius, and Plutarch. The latter obſerves that it is not certain that this valiant female paſſed the river on horſeback. Why, therefore, was ſhe honoured with an equeſtrian ſtatue? but Dionyſius only calls it a ſtatue of Bronze, and Plutarch doubts whether it was erected to Clelia, or to Valeria, the daughter of the conſul. Such is the conformity puculiar to the hiſtorians of the five firſt centuries of Rome! though truths were mingled in theſe varieties of deſcription, it would be difficult to ſeparate them from the falſities with which they are ſo frequently interwoven.

I have never ſeen the diſſertation by Mr. de Pouilly; a book, with a ſimilar title was publiſhed abroad in 1738; its author was ſuppoſed to be Mr. de Beaufort, who ſome few years ſince favoured the world with " la republique Romaine, ou plan general de l'ancien gouvernement de Rome." To his former work, " diſſertation ſur l'incertitude des cinq premiers ſiecles de l'hiſtoire Romaine," I acknowledge myſelf entirely indebted for the materials of this note. They deliver the ſentiments of an ingenious, and learned writer, as accurately as they could be collected during the ſhort opportunity, which an accidental peruſal once afforded me. The champion, who, in ſupport of the *certainties* of the Roman hiſtory, entered the liſts againſt Mr. de

Pouilly, was Abbé Sallier, whoſe pleaſing elegance of ſtile hath ſometimes diſguiſed the weakneſs of his arguments. His moſt violent attacks are directed againſt the leaſt defenſible concluſions of his antagoniſt, who is ſaid to have filled ſeveral pages which ſhould have been enriched by the exertions of his own abilities, with inferences drawn from the parallels foiſted into the works of Plutarch, and long ſince acknowledged as the productions of an obſcure author in the tenth century.

Section I. Concluſion of the 6th chapter. note *(a)*. l. 10. "Nemo ferè ſaltat ſobrius, niſi fortè inſanit: neque in ſolitudine, neque in convivio honeſto. Intempeſtivi convivii, amæni loci, multarum deliciarum comes eſt extrema, ſaltatio." Cic. orat. pro Muræna.

Section I. Chapter VIII. page 240. note(*m*) "Quid aliud exitio Lacædemoniis, et Athenienſibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, niſi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant?"

Section I. Chapter VIII. page 250. note *(u)*. "Magna vero quondam ſterilitate, ac difficili remedio, cum venalitias et laniſtarum familias, peregrinoſque omnes, exceptis medicis, et præceptoribus, partemque ſervitiorum urbe expuliſſet: ut tandem annona convaluit, impetum ſe cepiſſe ſcribit, frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum ceſſaret: neque tamen perſeveraſſe quia certum haberet, poſſe per ambitionem quandoque reſtitui. Atque ita poſt hanc rem temperavit, ut non minorem aratorum, ac negotiantium, quam populi rationem deduceret." Suet. vit. Auguſti. c. 42.

Section II. Chapter II. page 294. l. 10. "Flora, cum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quæſiviſſet, populum ſcripſit hæredem, certamque pecuniam reliquit, cujus ex annuo fœnore ſuus natalis dies celebrareretur, editione ludorum quos appellant Floralia. Quod quia ſenatui flagitioſum videbatur, ab ipſo nomine argumentum ſumi placuit, ut pudendæ rei quædam dignitas adderetur, deam finxerunt eſſe, quæ floribus præſit, eamque oportere placari, ut fruges cum arboribus, aut vitibus benè, proſperèque floreſcerent." Lactant. inſt. l. 1. c. 20.

It

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that the above relation is imagined to be the invention of the writer. Lactantius is the more liable to be ſuſpected, as he produces no authority to ſupport his aſſertion. Flora was the Chloris of the Greeks. " Chloris eram quæ Flora vocor." Ovid. She was afterwards received as a divinity by the Sabines, and then acknowledged by the Romans. The indecencies which prevailed at the celebration of her rites, might, however, naturally have ſuggeſted to the pious father an idea that this goddeſs, like her ſiſter-deities, was no better than a ſtrumpet. If the reader chuſes to examine the paſſages which weaken the evidence of Lactantius, he may refer to Varro; Ennius. Ovid. faſt. 195, &c. and Græv. præfat. ad. 1. tom. theſaur. A. R.

Section II. Chapter III. page 304. note(x). "The diſciples were called Chriſtians firſt in Antioch." Acts, c. 11. v. 26. Until that period, they were ſtiled by the Jews, Nazarenes; or Galileans; and by each other, diſciples, believers, brethren, ſaints. I have no opportunity of conſulting Bingham's antiquities of the church," to which my learned author refers the reader, but ſuppoſe that by the appellations, εκλεκτοι, γνοστικοι, are meant the different ſects, which, like the Therapeutæ, and a multitude of others, diſſatiſfied with the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian religion, attempted to eſtabliſh a mode of worſhip, drawn from the abſurd licentiouſneſs of their own imaginations. The Eclectics, whilſt they refuſed their attachment to any particular ſchool, pretended to ſelect from all, ſuch tenets only as they deemed rational. The Gnoſtics, bewildered in a ridiculous maze of errors, and affecting to have received extraordinary illuminations, approached nearer, in their ſyſtems of faith, to ideots, than the reſt of their contemporary heretics. They maintained the exiſtence of eight different heavens, each governed by its reſpective prince. Sabaoth, their prince of the ſeventh heaven, created the heavens, and the earth, the ſix heavens below him, and an innumerable hoſt of angels. Barbelo, ſometimes the father, and ſometimes the mother of the univerſe, was placed in the eighth heaven. God, and the creator of the world were two diſtinct beings. Chriſt was not born of the virgin Mary, and when ſent to redeem man, did not

not assume real flesh, nor suffer but in appearance. Resurrection, and a future judgment were disbelieved by the Gnostics, who imagined that their followers would return into the world, and enter into the bodies of hogs, and other animals. The gratification of their appetites was asserted to be at once legal, and commendable; to this article of their creed, they were attached with an undeviating bigotry. Their apocryphal books, of which they had many, were not calculated to prevent them from being dissolute. If Epiphanius may be credited, their "prophecy of Batsuba," "Gospel of perfection," and, "Mary's questions, and lying in," were filled with the most contemptible obscenities. The Therapeutæ were melancholy, misguided enthusiasts; their tenets were less fanciful, and more harmless than the tenets of the Gnostics. They were lovers of solitude, silence, and contemplation; yet could mingle amongst their own disciples, sing such hymns as they had composed, and sometimes dance together during the whole night. It is not certain that they were a branch of the Essenes; nor, probably, were they, as hath been supposed, either Christians, or Egyptians. Stiling themselves, the true disciples of Moses, and vain of such a title, it is natural to imagine that they were Jews.

Section II. Chapter III. Page 309. Note *(f)* Claude Fleury, prior of Argenteuil, was chosen, by the duke of Orleans, confessor to Lewis the fifteenth. Abbé Dorsanne observes that when he was advanced to this office, an age of seventy-five years was the sole objection which could be found against him. He felt that it was insuperable, and resigned his employment in 1722. In some months afterwards, and when he was eighty-three, an apoplexy put a period to his life. His capital work is the ecclesiastical history, unless we except the preliminary discourses affixed to it, which exceed in elegance, purity, precision, and force, the generality of his other writings, where negligence, a tame monotony of stile, and some pedantry frequently occur.

Section

SECTION II. Chapter III. page 309. l. 17. Οι απο Ιεδαιων εις τον Ιησον πιστευοντες & καταλελοιπασι τον πατριον νομον, βιωσι γαρ κατ' αυτον επωνυμοι της κατα την εκδοχην πλωχειας τω νομω γεγενημενοι. Εβιων τε γαρ ο πλωχος παρα Ιεδαιοις καλειται, και Εβιωναιοι χρηματιζουσιν οι απο Ιεδαιων τον Ιησουν ως Χριστον παραδεξαμενοι. Και ο Πετρος δε μεχρι πολλου φαινεται τα κατα τον Μωϋσεως νομον Ιεδαικα εθη τετηρηκεναι, &c. Και αυτος ο Παυλος τοις Ιεδαιοις Ιεδαιος εγινετο, ινα Ιεδαιους κερδηση.

Judæi qui in Jeſum crediderunt non deſciverunt a patriis legibus; vivunt enim juxta eas, paupertati ſuæ legis cognomines. Nam Ebion pauper Judaicâ lingua vocatur, et Ebionæi dicuntur a ceteris Judæis qui Jeſum pro Chriſto receperunt. Quin et Petrus videtur longo tempore juxta Moſis legem obſervaſſe ritus Judaicos, &c. Et ipſe Paulus Judæis Judæus factus eſt, ut Judæos lucraretur. V. Origen contra Celſum. l. 2. Edit. Cantab. 1658.

SECTION II. CHAPTER III. page 311. end of note *(i)*. "An enquiry into the preſent ſtate of the ſeptuagint verſion of the Old Teſtament," written by Doctor Owen, will furniſh the reader with a very comprehenſive view of the deſigned, and accidental corruptions which have crept into the ſcriptures. Much learned information may alſo be gathered from the work of Mr. Lami. This author hath been attacked for the harmleſs ſingularity of his aſſertions, with all the violence of controverſy; the diviner parts of religion, her inimitable precepts could neither acquire a confirmation, nor ſuffer a diminution of their excellent propriety, becauſe Lami maintained that John the Baptiſt was twice a priſoner; the firſt time, in purſuance of an order from the Prieſts, and Phariſees; the ſecond time, at the command of Herod; that our Saviour did not eat of the Paſchal lamb, at the laſt ſupper; that the true Paſchal lamb was crucified, whilſt the Jews ſacrificed the typical lamb; and that the two Marys, and Mary Magdalene were one, and the ſame perſon. It is not from that vivacity of genius, which ſeduced him into fanciful ſuppoſitions, that we are to expect a juſt picture of Lami. The honeſt tenor of his life, and the particularity of his death, are proofs of ſuch a ſtriking attachment to Chriſtianity, as rendered him incapable of ſurviving the deſertion of it, in another. A young man,

man, whom his writings had extricated from a ſtate of hereſy, became his pupil, and for ſome time, made quick advances in piety, and ſcience. He had conceived the moſt extravagant hopes of his new convert, when he diſcovered that he was again an infidel, and had plunged deeper into error than ever. The ſhock was fatal to Lami. He was ſeized with a ſettled melancholy; his health became immediately impaired; and a vomiting of blood ſoon put a period to his days.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. page 324. note *(q)*. l. 6. Ουχ οτι αλλοτρια εστι τα Πλατωνος διδαγματα τω Χριστω, αλλ οτι ουκ εστι πολυ τη ομοια. Non equidem quod alienæ ſint a Chriſto Platonis doctrinæ, ſed quod ſibi ipſis non omnino conſtent. Juſtin. Ap. 1. p. 51. folio. Pariſiis, 1636.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. page 325. note *(q)*. l. 28. Εστι των ὄντων εκαστω, δι ων την επισημην αναγκη παραγιγνεσθαι τριαι, τεταρτον δε αυτη, πεμπτον δ' αυτο τιθεναι δει, ο δη γνωστον τε και αληθες εστιν; ων εν μεν, ονομα, δευτερον δε λογος, το δε τριτον, ειδωλον, το τεταρτον δε επιστημη: και κατα ταυτα δε ειποιμεν αν οτι φωνη μεν βοωντος εν τη ερημω εστηκαι ο Ιωαννης προς τω Ιησου, αναλογον τω Πλατωνι ονοματι, δευτερος δε μετα τον Ιωαννην δεικνυμενος υπ' αυτου ο Ιησους, ω εφαρμοζει το, ο λογος σαρξ εγενετο, αναλογον ον τω παρα Πλατωνι λωγω. Πλατων μεν ουν το τριτον φησιν ειδωλον, ημεις δε το ονομα τω ειδωλω επ αλλω ταυτοντες τρανοτερον φησομεν εν τη ψυχη γινομενον μετα τον λογον των τραυματων τυπον τουτον ειναι εν εκαστω Χριστον, απο Χριστου λογου, ει δε και αναλογον εστι τω τεταρτω ουτι επιστημη, η εν τοις καθ ημας τελειοις σοφια ο Χριστος.

SECTION II. CHAPTER III. page 326. note *(q)*. l. 47. The only compoſition by Origen, which I have an opportunity of conſulting, is his defence againſt Celſus. In this, I do not find the reaſons to which my learned author alludes, when he deſcribes that writer, as denying his adoration to the angels, whom he ſuppoſes to be endued with a portion of the divinity. Many paſſages in the fifth book expreſsly forbid the worſhipping of angels, and enforce the prohibition by quotations from the ſcriptures. Perhaps I have examined the defence with too little attention. Perhaps, this aſſertion of Origen is to be met with in another work. I would not be underſtood to level the moſt diſtant inſinuation againſt the French writer, who ſeems too candid to miſrepreſent, and too accurate to be miſtaken.

SECTION

SECTION II. CHAPTER IV. page 340. note (*a*) l. 1. ην ταχα μεν αλλȣ λεγοντος, ȣ ραδιον ην αποδεξαθαι. Quod si quidem, &c.

SECTION II. CHAPTER IV. page 342. l. 11. "Praise be to God," the favourite expression of those religious persecutors, who judged the massacre of his heretical creatures to be the most acceptable sacrifice to the Creator, was the signal, at which their predecessors the Circoncelliones rushed on to slaughter. They were a savage, illiterate, bloody multitude, inflexibly attached to the Donatists, and, of course, the murderers of the followers of Cæcilian. Their leader assumed the title of "Chief of the saints." They disclaimed agriculture, and affected continence: in the first instance, the sincerity of their professions, cherished by an obstinate disposition to idleness, stood continually unimpeached; in the second instance, they were less scrupulous. Their female companions, whom they dignified with the appellation of sacred virgins, were inflamed with wine, and generally pregnant. As the Circoncelliones stiled themselves the administrators of justice, and the guardians of the oppressed, they released debtors, and assassinated those creditors who refused to annul their bonds: they dragged the masters from their chariots, and made them run before their slaves, who were seated in their places. God having forbidden Peter to use the sword, they were for some time too devout to meddle with it; and, until they had recourse to arms of every kind, they fought with sticks, which they emphatically called "the clubs of Israel." When they attacked a miserable apostate from Donatism, with these, they exhibited such specimens of dexterity, as would have done honour to an executioner of the inquisition: without killing the sufferer on the spot, they broke all his bones, and left him to languish during several days, before he expired. When they were softened into a fit of mercy, they destroyed the fortunate object of it, at once. When they were driven into the more favourite excesses of barbarity, they formed lime, and vinegar into a paste, with which they smeared the eyes of those, whom they before had crushed, and wounded. Satiated with the blood of others, they turned at length upon themselves, and with the most frantic resolution, sought all the dreadful

dreadful varieties of death; multitudes committing their bodies to the flames, plunging into the ſea, and caſting themſelves headlong from the tops of precipices.

Section II. Chapter IV. page 347. l. 13. The elegant author of this work, muſt permit me to obſerve, that his remark at the 193 page, in the original, is probably a miſtake; in this part of his maſterly character of Conſtantine, his words are; "il oublie de ſe faire baptiſer, et meurt hérétique." Conſtantine was baptiſed at Nicomedia, by Euſebius; this ceremony appears to have been one of the laſt incidents of his life. Whether this delay aroſe from too feeble a conviction of the divinity of the Chriſtian religion, or from a ſecret diſlike to the profeſſion of the goſpel, is difficult to determine. Some allowances will, however, be made in his favour, when it is recollected that he himſelf declared that it was his intention to have been baptized in the river Jordan, whither the ſick and infirm were wont to reſort, and bathe, during the Epiphany. It was, beſides, a cuſtom amongſt many who lived in the fourth century, to defer the office of baptiſm to their laſt hour, from a ſuppoſition, that as this rite conferred a remiſſion of ſins, ſo they who received it immediately before their departure, aſcended in a ſpotleſs ſtate to heaven.

Section II. Chapter IV. page 369. note *(m)*. Οτε γαρ συ Αλεξανδρε παρα των πρεσβυτερων εξητεις, τι δε ποτε αυτων εκαςος υπερ τινος τοπȣ τῶν εν τω νομω γεγραμμενων, μαλλον δ' υπερ μα ταιȣ τινος ζητησεως μερȣς επυνθανȣ. συ τε ο Αρειε τȣθ οπερ η μητε την αρχην ενθυμηθηναι, η ενθυμηθεντα σιωπη παραδȣναι προσηκον ην, απροοπτως εντεθεικας οθεν της εν υμιν διχονοιας εγερθεισης . . . . τι δε τȣτο σϊν; ȣτε ερωταν υπερ τῶν τοιȣτων εξ αρχης προσηκον ην, ȣτε ερωτωμενον αποκρινεθαι. Cum enim tu, Alexander, a preſbiteris tuis requireres quid quiſque eorum de quodam legis loco ſentiret, ſeu potius de quadam parte inanis quæſtionis eos interrogares; cumque tu, Ari, id quod vel nunquam cogitare, vel ſanè cogitatum ſilentio premere debueras, imprudenter protuliſſes, excitata inter vos diſcordia, &c. quidnam vero illud eſt? nec interrogare de hujusmodi rebus principio decebat, nec interrogatum reſpondere, &c.

Section

SECTION II. CHAPTER IV. Page 370. l. 15.

Σικελιδες Μεσαι, μεγαλην φατιν υμνησωμεν
τι τοτε φανερώτερον; προσιθησι γαρ
Ηλυθε Κυμαιε μαντευματος εις τελος ομφη

Κυμαιαν αινιττομενος δηλαδη την Σιβυλλαν, και ουκ ηρκεσθη τουτοις αλλα περαιτερω προεχωρησεν, ως της χρειας την αυτε μαρτυριαν επιποθουσης. τι λεγων αυθις;

Ουτος αρ αιωνων ιερος τιχος ωρνυται ημιν
Ηκει παρθενος αιθις, αγες ερατον βασιλειά.

τις ουν αρα ειη παρθενος η επανηκουσα; αρ ουχ η πληρης τε και εγκυος γενομενη τε θεε πνευματος. και προσιθησιν ο ποιητης,

Τον δε νεοτι πω τεχθεντα φαεσφορε μκνη
Αντι σιδηρειης χρυσην γενεμην ο πασαντα,
Προσκυνει

πεπαιδευμενως δε ω σοφωτατε ποιητα Μαρων.

Sicelides Muſæ paulo majora canamus.

Quid hoc apertius? addit enim

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.

Cumæam ſcilicet Sybyllam intelligens. Nec his contentus ulterius progreſſus eſt, quaſi neceſſitas ipſa teſtimonium ejus requireret. Quid igitur dicit?

Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo,
Jam redit et virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna.

Quænam ergo eſt illa virgo quæ redit? nonne illa quæ plena, et gravida fuit Spiritu ſancto? Sic enim addit poeta.

Tu modo naſcenti puero quo ferrea primum
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget gens aurea mundo
Caſta fave Lucina!

Doctè igitur hæc a te dicta ſunt, O Maro! poetarum ſapientiſſime!

Conſt. orat. ad ſanct. coet. c. 19 & 20.

The reader will eaſily perceive in many parts of the Greek tranſlation, how much the ſenſe of the lines from Virgil hath been tortured, to ſupport the favourite hypotheſis of Conſtantine. The expreſſion "Saturnia regna" is not the only expreſſion which is quite loſt in this unwarrantable paraphraſe.

SECTION II. CHAP. V. page 404. note (*e*). l. 9. The "diſſertations ſur les oracles des Paiens," written by Anthony Vandale, concealed under a languid, and diſguſting

guſting ſtile, a fund of learning and penetration. When ſuch rough, but valuable materials were poliſhed by the ſkilful touch of Fontenelle, it was no wonder that they joined the livelineſs of amuſement, with the ſolidity of inſtruction; and the preciſion of method, with the ſtrength of argument. The philoſophers, and the men of taſte were equally warm in their commendations of this work. Fontenelle was, notwithſtanding, attacked by Baltus the Jeſuit, to whom he made no reply. His ſilence did not proceed from a conviction that his antagoniſt had defeated him, but from his extreme diſlike to literary diſputes. He would rather have choſen (to uſe his own expreſſion) that the devil ſhould have paſſed for a prophet, than have entered into a diſcuſſion which might not have terminated in his perſonal ſafety. It muſt be truly an enlightened age, in which no ſecret enemy would conſpire againſt an author, who ſhould be daring enough to explode the oracles for human impoſture. Fontenelle felt that he had been concerned in a ſervice of ſome danger; and it was imagined that "le Tellier," the confeſſor of Lewis the fourteenth, had inveighed ſo ſtrongly againſt the ſuppoſed impieties of the diſſertation, that the Marquis d' Argenſon, in endeavouring to prevent the ſtorms of religious perſecution from burſting over the head of his friend, was obliged to exert his intereſt with the ſovereign, to its utmoſt length.

Corrections neceſſary in the French edition.

Introduction, p. 5. l. 15. inſtead of "ſuit ſes ſemblables," read ſuit ſes ſemblables.

Introduction, p. 6. l. 3. inſtead of "il doit en etre de même," read il en eſt de même.

Chap. 2. p. 18. note 1. l. 3. inſtead of "ſept" read trois.

Page 22. note 1. l. 1. inſtead of "heavealy offspring" read offspring of heaven!

Page 25. l. 10. inſtead of "propulace" read populace.

Page 26. note 3. l. 1. inſtead of "m'empêcha" read n'empecha.

Page 34. note 10. l. 11. inſtead of "cauſſam habere" read cauſam belli habere.

Page 34. note 10. l. 12. inſtead of "in imperio" read in maximo imperio.

Page

Page 37. l. 14. inſtead of "Tout etoit" read car tout etoit.
Page 44. l. 16. inſtead of "et tandis que" read tandis que.
Page 49. l. 9 inſtead of "ſur un million" read pour un million.
Page 58. l. 10. inſtead of "le mot" read ce mot.
Page 65. l. 6. inſtead of "qui eſt" read il eſt.
Page 71. l. 12. inſtead of "ſous" read qui ſous.
Page 75. note 8. l. 8. inſtead of "bello Gallos" read gloriâ belli Gallos.
Page 76. note 9. l. 3. inſtead of "fuimus" read ſumus.
Page 79. l. 25. inſtead of "torpeur" read langueur.
Page 104. note 11. l. 10. inſtead of "cauſſa" read cauſa.
Page 106. l. 31. inſtead of "de la liberté qui eſt" read de la liberté; qui eſt.
Page 107. l. 1. inſtead of "attachée" read attaché.
Page 109. l. 4. inſtead of "des Gracques" read dans l'hiſtoire des Gracques.
Page 116. l. 16. inſtead of "l'émpire, Ottoman telles" read l'empire Ottoman, telles.
Page 119. l. 28. inſtead of "autorité" read auſterité.
Page 121. note 3. l. 1. inſtead of "omnipotentes" read impotentes.
Page 132. note 5. l. 25. and 26. inſtead of "recidere aggrediar" read recipere adgrediar.
Page 153. l. 17. inſtead of "puiſqu'il impoſſible" read puiſqu'il eſt impoſſible.
Page 159. l. 28. inſtead of "decidé" read obſtinè.
Page 162. note 10. inſtead of "Inſtit. liv. 4." read Inſtit liv. 1.
Page 173. l. 12. inſtead of "docet" read docebit.
Page 173. note 15. l. 9. and 10. inſtead of "repoſitum" read repoſitus. inſtead of "ſtatutum" read ſtatutus.
Page 182 note 21. inſtead of "inſtit. liv. 4." read Inſtit. liv. 1. c. 6. l. 4. C. 6. 9. l. 6. c. 25.
Page 183. note 25. l. 14. inſtead of "Miltiade" read Melchiade.
Page 189. note 2. l. 3. inſtead of "XXXVIII" read XXVIII.
Page 193. note 6. l. 2. inſtead of "LXVI" read LXV.

When I had concluded the tranſlation of this firſt volume, and committed it, with the additional notes, to the preſs, the particular attention which I was obliged to pay to my own private affairs, detained me, during ſeveral months, from the proſecution of an undertaking, to which, I greatly fear, I may have proved unequal. This half of my taſk was ſcarcely finiſhed, when a fortunate accident gave riſe to my acquaintance with the French author, Monſieur le Chevalier de Chatellur, Brigadier of the armies of his Chriſtian Majeſty, and late Colonel of the regiment of Guienne. On his abilities as a writer, his book is a more elegant panegyric, than any which I could poſſibly compoſe. The qualities which he poſſeſſes as a ſoldier, and the vertues which he hath diſplayed in the more exalted character of a citizen of the world, are as public as his writings. Furniſhed as I am, with information from thoſe who long have known him, it is with pleaſure, that I could expatiate on theſe accompliſhments, if a deſire of ſhewing my own gratitude, in return to thoſe friendly marks of intimacy with which he ſince hath honoured me, would let me diſobey his modeſt orders that I ſhould be ſilent. I muſt now proceed to the execution of his other commands, after having obſerved, that in how favourable a point of view ſoever he may have ſeen my note, relative to Rollin, it ſhould not have appeared, had there been a poſſibility of eraſing it: but the firſt volume of the tranſlation was printed off, before I had the happineſs of being acquainted with the Chevalier. He bids me, in his name, beſpeak the indulgence of the public, to the errors of the French edition. Theſe will be conſidered as unavoidable inconveniencies, when the works of an author are printed at ſuch a diſtance from his reſidence, that he cannot examine the proofs; and I am much miſtaken, if the candid reader will not rather be ſurpriſed, that ſo few inaccuracies have occurred, than offended with ſuch as he may meet with. Whilſt the Chevalier was engaged in this work, he frequently ſhifted his abode, and was alſo obliged to attend his regiment, during four months of the year: at theſe times, he could only have recourſe to ſuch books, as were at hand; many of which were tranſlations, and but a ſmall number originals. This circumſtance will apologize for the unavoidable neceſſity which

which he was under, when citing the Greek authors, of quoting at one moment from the text, and at another moment from the verſion. In the courſe of this tranſlation of the firſt volume, I endeavoured, as much as it was in my power, to inſert copies from the originals; but confined to an obſcure ſpot, at an inſurmountable diſtance from the capital; and far, very far from any intercourſe with a man of learning, I muſt lament in ſolitude, that want of books, of which my more eccentric friend ſo feelingly complains. Whilſt but an inconſiderable number of the claſſics, and ſcarcely one of all the fathers, are found within my humble library, it is with diſappointment, and concern, that I perceive the ſtudies of the neighbouring clergy, as naked as my own. The Euſebius, from which I have quoted, is imperfect, and the original reading of the paſſage in the fourth chapter of the ſecond ſection, in this tranſlation, beginning with "itaque cum omnes, &c." is torn out. It were ridiculous to mention this deficiency; but as an excuſe to the Chevalier, for not obeying his requeſt, and to the reader, for not ſupplying him, as in ſome other places, with the Greek text. The alterations, and the materials of the notes which follow, have been tranſmitted to me by the author.

SECTION I CHAPTER V. page 113. note(*q*). Several editions of "principi di ſcienza nuova intorno alla commune nature delle nazioni" have been printed at Naples. The author Giam-Baptiſta Vico, a celebrated Italian lawyer, hath been dead ſome years. Many particulars of his life are in the firſt volume of "Racolta di opuſculi ſcientifici, e filologici del Angelo Calogera." Venezia, 1728.

SECTION I. CHAPTER V. page 121. note(*s*). l. 26. The Chevalier with the moſt commendable ſincerity acknowledges a miſtake in his explanation of the term "major natu quidam," which ſignified, amongſt the Romans, the age, and not the rank, or precedence to which an individual was intitled by his birth. All the conſequence, therefore, which he had drawn from the paſſage in Livy, falls to the ground. A new ſheet was printed off, and inſerted in the copies which remained at Paris, in order to rectify what was imagined to be ſo capital an error. The reader is deſired to paſs over all

the remainder of the note, from the words of the fourteenth line, " n'a jamais exiſté a Rome," to the end. What follows is intended to ſupply the place of the cancelled lines.

" Il eſt ſur que quelque modification qu'ait reçu l'eſclavage chez les anciens, jamais les eſclaves n'ont eté regardés comme peuple, comme partie integrante de l'etat. On peu. voir dans Athenée des recherches aſſés curieuſes ſur cet objet: il diſtingue pluſieurs ſortes d'eſclavage, comme lors qu'une nation ſe ſoumet entierement a une autre; l'orſqu'un peuple emigrant demande des terres à cultiver; ou lorſqu'un peuple vainqueur les abandonne aux vaincus, à certaines conditions onereuſes; ce qui ſe rapproche aſſés de la ſervitude feodale: mais il ne parte nulle part de cette demi-ſervitude, de cet etat mitoyen entre la liberté, et l'eſclavage, qu'on ſuppoſe avoir exiſté dans les deux premiers ſiecles de la republique." V. Deip. l. 6. ch. 7.

The miſtake is adopted in the tranſlation, where it might probably have remained, an inſtance of my inability to amend it, unleſs I had been favoured with the foregoing correction. The paſſage after the words " never exiſted at Rome" (l. 19. note(s) is to be omitted, and theſe lines muſt be inſerted in its place.

It is evident that whatſoever modification ſlavery might have received amongſt the ancients, the ſlaves were not conſidered as a people, as a conſtituent part of the ſtate. Some curious enquiries into this ſubject, may be ſeen in Athenæus, who hath diſtinguiſhed ſlavery into ſeveral kinds; as, when one nation ſubmits entirely to another nation; when a body of emigrants aſk for an allotment of lands, that they may cultivate them; or when the territories acquired by conqueſt, are abandoned, under certain burthenſome ſtipulations, to the conquered; the which approaches nearly to the feodal ſervitude. But Athenæus no where mentions that kind of half-ſlavery, that middle ſtate between freedom and ſervitude, which is ſuppoſed to have exiſted in the two firſt centuries of the republic.

V. Athenæi deipnoſophiſtarum, l. 6. c. 7.

Section I. Chapter VI. page 178. l. 16. Seide. See the Mahomet of Voltaire.

Section

SECTION I. CHAPTER VI. page 123. note(*k*). The author of "l'hiſtoire politique du gouvernement Romain" is a young eccleſiaſtic, named l'abbé Bignon.

SECTION I. CHAPTER VI. page 194. note(*r*). l. 12. The "diſſertation ſur l'incertitude des quatres premiers ſiecles de Rome," written by Mr. de Pouilly, is in the "memoires de l'academie des belles lettres." To this elegant author, France is indebted for "Remarques ſur la chronologie de Newton," and "la Theorie des ſentimens agreables." The third edition of this laſt work, was printed in 1749. To have thrown a valuable preſent into the treaſury of learning, was in Mr. de Pouilly, only a ſecondary merit. The city of Rheims feels a pleaſing conviction, that the benefactor who ſupplied her inhabitants with wholeſome fountains, in the place of putrid wells, who founded public ſchools, embelliſhed walks, and concerted, during the laſt moments of his life, a plan for raiſing magazines of corn, left ſtronger claims upon the approbation of his fellow-citizens, than any which the mere abilities of the moſt poliſhed author could have ſupported. The manuſcripts of Monſieur de Pouilly, which fill twelve folio volumes, are in the poſſeſſion of his brother Mr. de Burigny, a gentleman whoſe extenſive erudition, and aſſiduous labours, ſtill continue to embelliſh the French literature. Mr. de Pouilly, the ſon, is lieutenant-general within the bailiwic of Rheims, and hath acquired no inconſiderable reputation by his life of the chancellor de l'Hopital, publiſhed about the year 1765.

SECTION I. CHAPTER VIII. page 248. note *(s)*. Mr. Dutens, the ingenious author of "Recherches ſur l'origine de decouvertes attribuées aux modernes," 2 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1766, is a gentleman of French extraction, and a miniſter of the church of England. He attended earl Percy on his tour through Italy, and was ſome time ſecretary to our embaſſador at Turin. A zealous advocate for the ſuperiority of the ancients, over the moderns, muſt peruſe this work with unlimited approbation: but the reader, who hath embraced a contrary opinion, will probably imagine that the learned writer, notwithſtanding the new and ſolid information with which he hath enriched ſome paſſages of his production, is more the partial admirer, than the candid

candid judge. How will the warm lover of the philoſophy of a later period bear even the inſinuation that Locke, Berkley, Leibnitz, Galileo, Newton, Harvey, and Buffon; poor in the midſt of imaginary diſcoveries, and without one ſyſtem which they could truly call their own, are plunged in debt to Ariſtotle, Protagoras, Sextus Empiricus, Lucretius, Plato, Hippocrates, and Plautinus?

Section II. Chapter I. page 266. note *(d)*. The author of "l'Introduction a l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc," is Mr. Mallet, who wrote "hiſtoire de Heſſe," and whoſe abilities are too well known to render any encomium neceſſary. It would be a kind of literary injuſtice, to mention the former work, without obſerving that the tranſlator of it into our language, hath inſerted ſeveral valuable additions, together with the Latin verſion, by Goranſon, of the Edda, or ſyſtem of Runic Mythology.

Section II. Chapter IV. page 189. l. 11. original. Inſtead of "c'eſt qu 'Origene," read c'eſt que Lactance.

Section II. Chapter IV. p. 340. l. 3. tranſlation. Inſtead of "Origen," read Lactantius.

Section II. Chapter V. page 403. l. 23. Abbé de Paris, after having ſurrendered all his eſtate to his brother, devoted himſelf to ſolitude, and remained a voluntary priſoner within his own houſe. Here, he employed his time in prayer, the ſeverities of penitence, and the labour of his hands. To the poor, he frequently preſented ſtockings of his own weaving. Sometime after his deceaſe, his brother erected a monument over his grave, at Saint Medard; and hither, the ſtaunch admirers of the pious Janſeniſt repaired in multitudes. It was pretended that miraculous cures were wrought at his tomb; and the ridiculous enthuſiaſts who ſurrounded it, were ſeized with a religious frenzy, during the continuance of which they danced, jumped, and threw their bodies into ſtrange contortions. Hence they received the name of *Convulſionnaires*. The court, at length, imagined it neceſſary to interfere, and in January 1732, gave orders that the monument ſhould be incloſed, ſo as to prevent all poſſible acceſs to it.

it. The *Convulsionnaires* then removed the scene of their farce, and performed it in their own apartments. They still continue to appear at Paris, though not so frequently as usual. The lieutenants de police, contented with observing their motions, without proceeding against them, have sunk them into a contempt, from which the violence of persecution might probably have sheltered them. The fanatical production, to which the Chevalier alludes, is written by Mr. Montgeron, a counsellor of the parliament of Paris; its entitled, "La verité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. Paris," and was presented by its auth to the king, at Versailles. Montgeron fell a martyr Jansenism: he was, at first, committed to the Bastil then, confined within an abbey of the Benedictins, the diocese of Avignon, and afterwards, removed the citadel of Valence, where he died, in 1750. P nishment nourished his enthusiasm, and quickened h persuasions: in prison, he added two more volumes his work, and left a manuscript full of bitter invectiv against the incredulous.

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CORRECTIONS

CORRECTIONS IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 17. note *(c)* l. 5. instead of "πολισεσε" read πολις εστε.
Page 18. l. 12. instead of "prescribed" read proscribed.
Page 21. l. 6. instead of "on the other," read on the other hand.
Page 22. l. 16. instead of "at another," read at another time.

SECTION I.

Page 35. l. 4. instead of "on the other," read on the other hand.
. . . . . note *(f)* l. 5. instead of "cyropædia," read Cyropædia.
. . . . . l. 16. instead of "he goes farther," read he goes farther;
. . . . . l. 17. instead of "held" read holden.
. . . . . l. 38. instead of "logesit" read logeoit.
. . . . . l. 39. instead of "Romish," read Roman.
Page 41. l. 20. instead of "than that" read than that speculation.
Page 42. l. 5. instead of "hath been" read have been.
Page 53. l. 20. instead of "of state" read of the state.
Page 58. l. 21. instead of "of another," read of another convenience.
Page 60. note *(m)* l. 5. instead of "Halicarnasseus," read Halicarnassius.
Page 61. l. 2. instead of "mignificence," read magnificence.
Page 67. l. 17. erase "of."
Page 71. l. 27. instead of "Lacedemonions," read Lacedemonians.
Page 93. l. 19. instead of "forbode" read forebode.
Page 97. l. 17. instead of "where as" read whereas.
Page 100. note *(m)* l. 1. instead of "nostributa" read nos tributa.
Page 108. l. 6. instead of "to estimate, we have," read to estimate. We have.
Page 111. l. 11. instead of "policy" read polity.
Page 119. l. 5. instead of "Froessart," read Froissart.
Page 127. l. 5. instead of "agragarian," read agrarian.
Page 150. note (z) last line, instead of "Romanis," read Romanos.
Page 151. l. 6. instead of "attached" read attacked.

CORRECTIONS IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

Page 152. l. 12. inſtead of "their" read theſe.
Page 158. l. 24 read whilſt.
. . . . . l. 25. inſtead of "had," read hath gained.
Page 161. l. 16. inſtead of "Sicinum" read Ticinum.
Page 164. l. 22. inſtead of "heighth" read height.
Page 169. l. 22. inſtead of "refulerint," read retulerint.
Page 192. l. 8. inſtead of "corns" read corn.
. . . . . l. 13. eraſe the mark of interrogation.
Page 193. l. 3. read ſatisfaction.
Page 200. l. 21. inſtead of "rank magiſtracy," read rank, magiſtracy.
Page 210. l. 23. read ſixtieth.
Page 213. l. 4. read dynaſties.
Page 217. l. 1. inſtead of "preſerved" read retained.
Page 231. l. 6. inſtead of "Tryption," read Tryphon.
Page 233. l. 7. inſtead of "throne," read thrown.
Page 246. l. 19. read Freinſhemius.
Page 249. l. 3. inſtead of "we," read were.
Page 268. l. 6. inſtead of "thoſe early" read theſe more recent.
Page 269. l. 22. inſtead of "as leſs than it was," read as greater than it alſo was.
Page 292. l. 16. inſtead of "dogmas," read dogmata.
Page 293. l. 10. inſtead of "impoſters," read impoſtors.
. . . . . l. 23. inſtead of "dogmas" read dogmata.
Page 300. l. 3. inſtead of "dogmas" read dogmata.
Page 314. l. 13. read Silenus.
Page 315. l. 27. read neceſſity.
Page 318. l. 16. read dogmata.
Page 329. l. 28. inſtead of "laſt note" read the note *x*.
Page 331. l. 13. read επληρομεν.
Page 341. l. 21. inſtead of "he," read ſhe.
Page 344. l. 6. inſtead of "was" read became.
Page 345. l. 7. inſtead of "preſcription," read proſcription.
Page 401. l. 10. inſtead of "apud. Hieroſolymam," read apud Hieroſolymam.
. . . . . l. 11. inſtead of "inter neciva" read interneciva.
. . . . . l. 19. inſtead of "in exceſſum" read inacceſſum.
. . . . . l. 21. inſtead of "incertum" read inceptum.
Page 414. l. 14. read ſources.

Corrections for the APPENDIX.

Page 7. l. 26. inſtead of "puculiar," read peculiar.
Page 20. l. 15. inſtead of "parte," read parle.

MAR 9 1934